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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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**USSR REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL

DANGER SEEN IN U.S. USE OF FRG, JAPANESE 'MILITARISM'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 84 p 4

[Ernst Genri: "The Doubly Sinister Alliance"]

[Text] Everyone who is watching events in the capitalist world today will be struck by the agonizing process that is exhausting the entire world. This is the feverish, convulsive growth of American militarism.

There has as yet never been such a thing in the history of the United States. There is not a continent where America would not try to bring governments dependent on it to power. There is not an ocean where it would not establish and expand its own military bases in various regions. There is not a capitalist country where agents of the Pentagon, the TsRU [CIA] and American corporations would not try to dictate their own will. All of this is directly tied to the indefatigable, convulsive spread of American militarism. Even Hitleristic Germany in its time did not try to plan its own hegemonic aspirations so widely.

American militarism is openly betting the fate of the whole bourgeois world and is preparing daily in plain sight to increase confrontation with socialist countries. In this regard America is not hesitating to include among its allies those forces which are quietly nurturing their own far-ranging plans and which in the future could, while remaining active enemies of peace, be serious rivals of the United States.

This specifically applies to two modern militaristic forces. One is in Western Europe, in the FRG, and the other is in Eastern Asia, in Japan. And in both, Washington's policy appears strikingly short-sighted, which can only amaze an unbiased observer. Washington's strategy, if one is to focus on long-term, historic perspectives, seems stricken with blindness.

Thirty-eight years ago, in June 1945, former Supreme Commander of Allied Expeditionary Forces in Western Europe and later President of the U.S. Dwight Eisenhower declared, "The German General Staff must be destroyed. From the German General Staff's point of view, the wars which Germany waged were simply campaigns, simple incidents. They (the leaders of German military circles--E.G.) were fully resolved to rule Europe. In my opinion they used political leaders to carry out their own ideas and plans."

It is difficult to accuse Eisenhower of not knowing the German militarists. Thus forty years ago responsible American statesmen looked at these militarists without doubting their revanchist aspirations. However, under President Truman only several years later, and the subsequent joining of the FRG in 1949, the aggressive NATO bloc was founded and everyone in Washington made an abrupt about-face. Henceforth Bonn generals and colonels, many of whom were former Wermacht leaders, began to be considered as the closest and even most important U.S. allies.

Has the character of certain political and military circles in West Germany changed in the post-war period? Has the reactionary bourgeois beyond the Elbe once and for all renounced its revanchist attitude? No, no really serious observer believes this. Such a thing has not taken place on the Rhine. On the contrary, many say that it is just the opposite. Influential industrial, financial and military circles in West Germany clearly consider themselves the rightful heirs of the old German militarists.

True, their representatives swear inviolable fidelity to the Atlantic bloc and for the present they are satisfied with secondary roles in NATO headquarters. But how long will they be restricted by this? Their army is already considered the strongest and best armed in Western Europe, far surpassing the old Wermacht in power. They still do not have nuclear weapons, although the industrial base for their rapid construction has already been developed. It is also no secret that the traditions of the Wermacht are carefully guarded by the Bundeswehr.

The first, and only the first, most elementary goal of West German revanchists according to their own declarations is to revive the Reich within its 1937 borders. Their further claim, which they also do not hide, is to stretch into Austria, Czechoslovakia, a large part of Poland and further.

What will happen if the United States begins to weaken in the future because they recklessly bet everything in the international arena, then loses initiative and forfeits influence to its allies? This is a question of no small importance. History prompts one to ask it even now, for it is risky for the Americans to be late in answering it. It would be extremely frivolous to think that West German militarism is dead. It is alive, biding its time. General Eisenhower was right about this.

Let us turn sharply to the east. Can one maintain that everything is going as American militarists have planned in the Pacific Ocean area?

At first glance, the answer would be "yes." American planes dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 39 years ago and then, using the Soviet forces' destruction of the Kwangtung Army, the Americans landed in Japan. This was the most terrible, merciless blow that Japan had ever suffered. In striking this blow, America publicized that its main goal was to fill Japanese militarism once and for all, to the point that it would never more be remembered.

Americans are found in Japan with their own 7th Fleet to this day. The Land of the Rising Sun still appears to be on its knees before the Americans, and

is also considered to be their true ally. The Japanese military industry is growing with the help of American licenses. It is believed that in the event of war Japan would help the U.S. by attacking the USSR from the east, and a new, modern Japanese army is being formed with this perspective in mind.

But other important questions are surfacing again. Have the Japanese forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Have the Americans forgotten Pearl Harbor? Hardly. One doesn't forget these kinds of things. And the Japanese especially have a long memory in these matters.

Yes, now Japanese ruling circles are using their democratic friendship with the United States to the utmost. Yes, they are cooperating with America in the production of weapons. Yes, the reviving old oligarchic concepts, 'dzaybatsu,' are operating hand in hand with America. As a result of dependency on the U.S. Japan has been able to become the world's second capitalist power.

But here again questions come up. What will tomorrow bring? What will happen in the Pacific Ocean region when the 'dzaybatsu' monopolies, which even now control trillions of yen and which have a large army with modern weapons available, become stronger at the helm in Tokyo? Will they not again begin to look to their west and east as they did before and during the Second World War? And no one can exclude that from happening.

It is certainly difficult to foresee precisely when all this will mature. But one should not consider Japan as the constant, eternal assistant of the United States. It would simply be naive to think that Japanese militarism will never again awaken when the country's ruling conservative forces become economically, technically and militarily stronger.

Even ordinary Japanese soldiers do not express any sentimental love for Uncle Sam. And the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, just as of Pearl Harbor, among Japanese officers and the ruling circles is matched by their enmity towards the USSR. But the latter is openly displayed, whereas the former is held in deep secrecy. In any event they remember why the Americans are necessary and they don't want to repeat 1945.

Why talk about the two examples of the FRG and Japan? First of all, apparently because militarism and revanchism are now interrelated in the capitalist world. American militarism critically needs auxiliary forces to carry out its own military strategy and for its aggressive operations. Revanchism in turn depends on American militarism in planning the establishment and growth of its own forces which were totally destroyed as a result of the Second World War.

Hence their present collusion. At the present time one helps the other. But sooner or later the deep, unsettled contradictions among them will flare up with new force and they will oppose one another. The time is not ripe for this now. American militarism which is pursuing its own hegemonic plans is interested in strengthening cooperation with them. NATO and the Japanese American Alliance are designed for this. But in operating this way, the

United States has to pander to the rapid build-up of the forces of militarism which will agree to serve them only to a point. Such is the dialectic of contemporary intra-imperialistic relations.

Those things that apply to the FRG also apply to Japan. There is no doubt that many of those Japanese politicians who publicly speak out for strengthening the alliance with the U.S. and even receive bribes for that (remember former Prime Minister Tanaka) secretly dream about reconstructing the powerful Japanese Asian empire which can revenge itself on the U.S. for 1945. The contradictions among militaristic powers can be muffled for a while, but they cannot be eliminated. They are too deeply embedded both in economics and in politics.

People in all countries must remain vigilant, and keep track of the intrigues of both militarism and revanchism. One of the most important missions for the world anti-war movement that is developing everywhere in the world is to stay in readiness, anticipating the sinister plots directed against the vital interests of mankind.

12511
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INTERNATIONAL

AMERICAN 'CIVIC RELIGION' OF PATRIOTISM EXAMINED

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 May 84 p 3

[Article by V. Nosovich, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Messiah in the White House"]

[Excerpt] As American researchers of this phenomenon believe, here we deal with a new, namely, civic religion, to which the confessional convictions of its supporters are irrelevant. It does not matter whether one is a Christian, a Muslim, a Hindu or a Jew. Most important is that one is a citizen of God's chosen country and a representative of God's chosen people and, in that, one is an instrument of God's will. If so, everything that America does, and everything that is good for it is referred to the category of deeds to please God. Moreover, they declare; everything that is good for America is good for the rest of mankind. This thought is surprisingly simple in its sincere primitiveness, and accessible understanding. This is so because it represents an outcome of the militaristic lack of culture and conceited disregard of other people's cultures. The famous French writer Romain Rolland wrote, after visiting the United States, "The Anglo-Saxon character of America is strong and proud...decisive and inflexible. It is distinct in its strange and surprising, to all of us Europeans, inability to understand other races' way of thinking... An American thinks that everything that is right and good for him should also be right and good for the people of the globe; if other peoples disagree with this, then they are wrong and America, supposedly, has a right to impose its opinion, and do so for their own good."

In essence, hegemonism is a central idea of the U.S. civic religion which, in the final account, is nurtured by the political maximalism of the American state machine and the military-industrial complex.

As with any religion, this one also has its cult, objects of worship and rituals, together with the ideological nucleus described above. First, there is the overbearing heralding symbolism, the Lincoln Memorial, the Arlington Cemetery in Washington and, of course, the national flag. In no other country in the world is it circulated to such a degree as in the U.S. Every house, every office, cars and clothing--everything has become its display window for demonstration. It would be very naive to see this as only an external attribute and a simple decoration. Unnoticed by the consumer,

powerful advertising and the utilization of all-mighty means of mass information are converting the U.S. emblem into a mark of the idealized American lifestyle. This is especially so, because the flag is "hung" on mass consumption goods of high quality. As a natural continuation, after the flag, brand name clothes acquired the symbols of American Armed Forces: army, air force and navy. It would not hurt the wearers of these particular symbols in our country to think that, so to say, on their own bodies they propagate the U.S. civic religion. Even if they have never heard such a word. Maybe, their situation is similar to that of Moliere's Jourden, who was very surprised to find out that he speaks in prose.

Now, let us try and answer the question: on what soil did this branchy tree--the American civic religion--grow? There are at least two closely related circumstances that cause it to emerge. First, America is a great state that for a long time dominated the political-economic and cultural life of the capitalist world. Secondly, this monopoly has been, to a large degree, lost during the last twenty years. This is so because the socialist system, formed in the 20th century, is not worse than the capitalist countries bloc in an economic or military respect. However, in these countries, the centrifugal forces strengthen to a larger degree, as does the desire to escape from the overbearing and, in many ways, burdening care of Uncle Sam.

It is hard for them to accept the realization of the loss of the first violin part in the world orchestra. More so, because America is not the same as it used to be. Its diseases (unemployment, inflation and the degradation of the institutions of power) have acquired a chronic character. However, as it often happens in the life of an individual who does not tend to blame himself for his failures and miseries, the engineers of the American train spend a lot of energy trying to find a "switcher" who would, supposedly, try to direct the world to the route leading to a catastrophe. The switcher has been found. It is the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the socialist world, which the American President declared to be the essence of evil. As Ronald Reagan declared, if not for the USSR, humanity would not have had any serious problems. And, this is why: "according to the Holy Scripture and Jesus Christ, we must resist it with our entire power." This is why, the U.S. civic religion, which represents the most important component of the psychological war is, essentially, an outgrowth of their pathological hatred toward communism, that was nurtured on the soil of the crisis of the capitalist world-order, and is the expression of its social inferiority complex.

12404
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INTERNATIONAL

ANATOLIY GROMYKO INTERVIEWED ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS, SOVIET TIES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 May 84 p 5

[Interview with Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Anatoliy Anareyevich Gromyko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, on the occasion of African Liberation Day by S. Chichkov; date and place not specified: "Africa: The Patch of Freedom"]

[Text] [Question] Today is African Liberation Day. Under what circumstances are the people of Africa and their friends throughout the world celebrating this significant holiday?

[Answer] African Liberation Day takes place in the midst of a strained international situation. The reason for this is that the most aggressive NATO circles, primarily the government of the USA, are striving to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries, thereby starting up a new spiralling of the arms race, including nuclear weapons.

The intensified attack against the national-liberation movements in Africa and in other developing countries and the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of independent states that do not wish to follow the dictates of imperialism, constitute yet another expression of imperialism's aggressive aspirations.

One in fact hears from Washington that the USA must repulse the "challenge" of the USSR in the "third world" countries and "develop a strategy for beating back that challenge." However, while profusely holding forth about the mythical "Soviet threat," the Reaganites bombarded defenseless Lebanese villages and even shelled the overpopulated quarters of Beirut. Only naive persons could place any faith in Washington's declaration that the American rockets installed at bases in Comiso Sicily "would not be aimed", at countries of the Near East and Africa.

While waging an offensive against the progressive developing countries, international imperialism is at the same time openly supporting reactionary regimes. The international community is particularly irked by the intensifying cooperation between the industrial-military complex of the USA and the regime of the Republic of South Africa. The patronage of the USA extended to that country has allowed the South African racists to conduct a policy of power pressure directed against a number of young independent African countries.

Soviet foreign policy, now as before, is directed at supporting the decisive struggle to liquidate all forms of colonial oppression.

As was noted by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade K. U. Chernenko on 29 March 1984 at a Kremlin dinner in honor of the Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and the Commission on the Organization of the Ethiopian Workers' Party, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, "our approach toward African problems is an open and principled one. We are not pursuing any interests that might be contrary to the aspirations of the Africans themselves. At the same time, we are decisively opposed to converting this continent into an arena of global political, and moreover, military confrontation. And, of course, we categorically refute attempts to declare Africa or any of its individual regions to be a sphere of anyone's "vital interests." An indispensable condition for normalizing the political climate on the African continent is the strengthening of the African people's unity and solidarity on a broad anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-colonialist platform within the framework of the Organization of African Unity."

The Soviet public, including the members of activists of the Soviet Society of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa, are actively participating in international endeavors concerned with problems in the struggle of the African people for peace, freedom, and social progress.

The governments and the peoples of the African countries are making an ever-increasing contribution to the cause of preserving peace in the world. In that connection, one should take note of the important initiatives to transform Africa into a non-nuclear zone and the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. All of these judicious proposals made by Africans are supported by the Soviet people.

[Question] The Soviet Society of Friendship with the African Peoples, of which you are the chairman, Antoliy Andreyevich, just celebrated its twentieth anniversary. What are the tasks of the Society as set forth by this mass public organization in the Soviet Union, and the results of its work during those years?

[Answer] The creation in the Soviet Union of a public organization of friendship with the Peoples of Africa in the spring of 1959 was a marvelous and natural initiative taken by the Soviet people who feel a sense of solidarity with the nations of Africa in their struggle to build a new, free life with human dignity.

The humanistic traditions of Russo-African relations received new impetus following the great October Socialist Revolution, and since that time, our country has unfailingly stood on the side of the oppressed peoples of Africa and their courageous struggle against colonialism.

In its practical activity, the Society of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa numbers among its ranks hundreds of thousands of members and

activists, guided by the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, Soviet democracy, and the principle of the USSR Constitution that it is "the international duty of each citizen of the USSR to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of all countries in order to facilitate the maintenance and strengthening of universal peace."

We base our own work on the proposition that familiarity with other people's spiritual life and culture helps to build and strengthen mutual understanding between nations. The members and activists of the Society are undertaking hundreds of measures aimed at popularizing knowledge about Africa in the Soviet Union.

[Question] As is known, very close and all-around cooperation, which is strengthening and expanding with each new year, has evolved between the Society of Friendship with Peoples of Africa and Friends of the Soviet Union organizations on the African continent. Please tell us about this cooperation and the role played in it by African societies of friendship with the Soviet Union.

[Answer] The role and activity of societies of friendship with the Soviet Union are growing from one year to the next. Today they constitute a significant social force in their own countries. The societies have hundreds of thousands of members and contain numerous departments. Heading those societies are prominent governmental and public figures. Societies of Friendship with the Soviet Union in the African countries utilize various forms of operation, although all of them are making fruitful contributions to familiarizing the African public with Soviet life. This was particularly reflected in the celebration in Africa of such glorious dates in the history of the Soviet state as the 100th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, the 60th anniversary of Great October, and the 60th anniversary of the USSR's founding.

Mutual contact between the societies are becoming increasingly important in the development of cooperation the societies and the African friendship societies. Twenty three countries of tropical Africa participated in the Second International Meeting which was held in September 1983 in Moscow and Minsk (the first was held in September 1979 in Moscow and Alma-Ata). The meeting's participants appealed to the African community with a call for multiplying efforts for further strengthening Soviet-African friendship and cooperation in the cause of struggling for peace and against the threat of nuclear war.

The meetings between the societies' active membership and the heads of states and the governments of the African countries, the letters from ambassadors of African countries accredited to the Soviet Union as well as those from African public friendship societies and individuals, and finally, comments from the African press, all attest to the high regard held for the results of our Society's activity. And we, the Soviet friends of Africa, are inspired by this.

6289
CSO: 1807/222

INTERNATIONAL

FRG COMMUNIST EXPLAINS POLITICAL OUTLOOK OF 'GREENS' PARTY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Robert Steigerwald, West German publicist: "Who Are 'The Greens'?"]

[Text] "The 'Greens' Party is being mentioned more and more often in news from the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). One would like to find out more in detail about its political orientation. What is the 'Greens' influence on the country's political life? -- M.U. Yermukanov, Moscow."

A conference of 'Greens' (PZ) took place in Karlsruhe at the beginning of March. More than 1,200 delegates discussed the party's orientation in "European politics," as well as organizational questions. The "Greens" called for the creation of a Europe free of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the taking of prompt action to reduce arms. Although the conference's delegates have come out in favor of the FRG's continued participation in the "Common Market," they have subjected this organization's policies to sharp criticism. Commenting on the PZ conference, observers noted, however, that it was held against a background of disagreements expressing the diverse planning structure of a party which brings together representatives of different political orientations.

The "Greens" active appearance on the political *avant garde* scene in the FRG happened a year ago. At exactly that time, as a result of the parliamentary elections in March 1983, the 30-year monopoly of three political parties in the Bundestag was liquidated--the Social Democrats, the conservative Christians and the liberal-bourgeois Free Democrats. For the first time since 1953, when the Communist Party left Parliament, a radical democratic opposition party with 27 deputies has entered the country's higher legislative organ. Nearly three million voters voted for the "Greens" party, but there is a question about it.

Since then, things have more than once, reached the level of aggressive "parliamentary" fights between the "Greens" party and the government coalition in the Bundestag's halls. The "Greens" have decisively opposed the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union-Free Democratic Party coalition on issues of peace and disarmament, defense of democracy and reduction in allocations for social needs.

Who are they, these "Greens"? How can one explain so quick a rise?

The "Greens" are an integral part of a broader social phenomenon. A distinctive potential for protest has arisen in developed capitalist countries. From a social point of view, it consists to a significant degree of representatives from that section which we call "middle," but which consists of wage laborers. In contrast to artisans and peasants (the old world section), there are no means of production at their command. They live, basically, for the sake of selling their wares--labor power, mainly--intellect. This section is growing vastly and entering into a defiance of governmental monopolistic capitalism in different areas under the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution.

The arms race and the danger of nuclear war give rise to people's perception of the lack of perspective in bourgeois society. They collide with this lack of perspective in the sphere of labor as well as education. The facts of the concentrated destruction of the environment aggregate this lack of perspective.

However, inasmuch as the growing protest in our country against all negative phenomena does not rest upon a class base, the demographic slogan of "super-powers" while supposedly they threaten the world to the same extent, is heard.

Nevertheless, the majority of "Greens" have a more negative attitude toward the U.S. than the USSR. They see the greatest danger for the world in the politics of today's leadership in the United States. But at the same time, many of the "greens" still can't understand the need for the defensive efforts undertaken by socialist governments. This, first and foremost, shows ignorance of the fact that, on the part of the USSR, there was no lack of steps taken, including unilateral ones, toward success in the talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe.

Since as the "Greens" are not proletarian in their social structure, the ideology of their leaders is also not proletarian. This leaves its mark on the character of the "Greens'" protest and gives rise to a specific character in the problems of the political struggle being promoted by them. As a whole they are against capitalism. The "Greens" understand that the capitalist system leads to serious consequences for mankind--from threatening universal peace to hunger in "Third World" countries. Side by side with this, the false thesis of the "super-powers" prevents them from seeing an alternative in realizable socialism clearly. As a result, the "Greens" waste a lot of energy searching for some kind of other "third" alternative which lies somewhere outside of capitalism and realizable socialism. Such wanderings are widespread in our society. True, on the whole, they are directed against capitalism, but under the influence of anti-communism and anti-sovietism they sometimes lead into a labyrinth without exit.

The question here isn't about how much solid roots have entwined themselves in the camp of "Green" anti-communism and anti-sovietism. There are

representatives of these anti-communist and anti-soviet circles in this camp. Dropping a Maoist alignment after their ideological and political bankruptcy, they began to take refuge in the "Greens." Some peoples are moving towards them, who have not suffered the trials of class struggle and who have abandoned their Marxist convictions, as well as dissidents, including circles flirting with anarchists. These forces want to split the peace movement in the FRG and oust the Social-Democrats and the Communists from it, by attaching the label "agents of Moscow" to them. The question here isn't about the struggle for peace, but about the struggle for the subordination to itself of the peace movement. Moreover, the tendency to tie adventurist forms of struggle to the anti-war movement and to push it toward a sectarian form of action becomes apparent frequently. Naturally, this does not further the unity of the anti-war movement and objectively helps whomever favors the arms race.

Nevertheless, with regard for what's been said, it is important to see the positive in the complex ideological and political position of the "Greens," who are poised between great forces and party blocs. They are waging an offensive struggle--within the Bundestag itself now--against NATO's plans for militarization, against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in the FRG and against anti-communist justification of the arms race. "The deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe shows," announced participants in a recent "Greens'" conference, "that NATO is a military bloc whose purpose is preparation for war."

A main area for possible combined activity by the Communists and the "Greens" is the problem of peace. But there are other areas of contact such as, for example, the struggle for democracy, i.e., against the "ban on profession," against the toughening of law on demonstrations and the deterioration, bad enough as it is, of the legal situation of foreign workers. To be sure, there is also a possibility for combined action with the "Greens" in the area of solidarity with the peoples of Central America.

There are also, however, areas of serious disagreement between us, especially in world outlook problems. The fact is that the "Greens'" false world outlook position on the question of economic and social policies accounts for their mistaken concepts.

For example, where the "Greens" protest against the pollution of the environment, it leads them too easily to protest against large-scale industrial production. The basic problem--the problem of property and to whom such large enterprises belong--is not emphasized. But the orientation on primarily medium-sized and small enterprises cannot be promising for economic development and serve as a basis for an authentic union between the Greens Party and the working class. Thus, the problem is that in the important areas the "Greens" are presently not in a position to put forward any kind of serious social-political alternatives and they are limiting themselves, and quite often, only to a critique of the existing status quo.

Another problem lies in the fact that under the conditions of competition between the Social Democrats and the "Greens" where they and others are

fighting, basically for the same voters, there is the danger that both parties in the Bundestag, instead of looking for a basis for joint action against the reactionary course of the Kohl-Genscher government, will fight among themselves and thereby weaken Parliamentary opposition. We Communists call on both party factions not to waste energy on fighting each other, but to search for possible forms of joint action against our common opponent.

The question arises: why is it the "Greens" and not the Communists who have made gains from the growing mood of protest in the country?

We Communists raised the problems about which the "Greens" protest movement is now coalescing at a time when the latter didn't yet exist. The organized "Greens" party (PZ) was formed at its own constituent assembly in January 1980 at Karlsruhe as the result of the union of a number of political groups and organizations defending the environment. But, for example, the first environmental defense program in the FRG had been worked out by the Communist Party as early as the beginning of the 1970's. However, all this had not achieved nearly the results which the "Greens" movement developing later, accomplished. And, of course, last but not least, because what we spoke about that was true and just, was not taken seriously or dismissed completely in the anti-communism mood prevailing in the country.

That fact--that we have never publicized world outlook impasses in which today's "Greens" movement is trying to orient itself--plays, of course, a definite role. At first glance, this would seem to have to be to our advantage. However, it did not turn out so simply at all. The political-ideological impasses which the "Greens" recommend seem to be a way out of the situation for people inexperienced in politics. It is precisely in technology, especially large-scale, that they see a "problem," an "enemy," and not in the social structure which uses these means. Because of this the spontaneously arising protest--at least in the beginning--was able to develop faster on the "Green" foundation than on the scientific foundation of Marxist educated forces.

This situation can change only through a lengthy process.

To be sure, our policy envisages work on a clear-cut and intelligible political elucidation of the difference between our position and the incorrect views of the "Greens." It would be appropriate right now to recall an old saying: "We are looking for a confrontation of ideas in order to achieve cooperation on vital issues." It can be assumed that a new factor in the arrangement of powers in bourgeois society comes from the fact that the social base of potential protest is a result of objective factors and will play a role over the long term.

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Bonn, April.

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR' VS. MARXIST 'IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE'

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 6, Jun 84 pp 14-18

[Article by Eduard Batalov: "Psychological War Is a War"]

[Text]

Almost forty years have passed since the last salvos of World War II died out, nevertheless military operations in the world still continue. Bloody "hot" local wars, which take away people's lives, are going on. Bloodless "cold" wars, sometimes called "psychological" ones, are in progress.

Psychological war, writes a well-known American specialist in this matter Paul Linebarger, cannot be kept within the framework of common notions on war... It doesn't observe the established laws and customs of war and has nothing to do with such concepts as battle-field, combat order, combat operations... Its success or failure very often becomes apparent only several months or even years after the corresponding operation was undertaken... In this war, he goes on, enemies frequently mask their true face by the names of motherland, God, church...

Psychological war is a brain-child of the 20th century. True, some ways and methods from its arsenal in their original—naïve and rough—form were used by warring sides before. The idea of moral and psychological pressure on the enemy was shared by many theoreticians and practical military in past centuries.

But only in the beginning of the 20th century, the methods of psychological influence on the enemy assumed an organized, systematic and purposeful character and turned to be an organic part of warring nations and states. Partly it was connected with the sharpening of contradictions between the capitalist countries. But, perhaps, still more important role in this process was played by the division of the world into two

social and political systems: reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie mobilized new forces for the struggle against the world socialism.

Many researchers note that at first psychological war was considered by its organizers as a psychological aspect of an ordinary war (hence its name) and auxiliary means of influence on the enemy, first of all, on its troops, under the conditions of war-time. Later, in the 40s psychological war was started to be tied not only with war-time but also with emergency situation in peace. In this case, the influence on civilian population became the task no less important than psychological brainwashing of enemy's armed forces. At last, in later interpretations, the tying with emergency situation started to fade away. Psychological war was assuming the status of an autonomous form of psychological influence used not only in an emergency but also in usual conditions. It was turning to be an element of everyday life.

ATTEMPT ON PERSONALITY

War is violence. Psychological war is also violence: violence upon the spirit of man and upon his psychics. In its extreme forms it is an attempt to kill humanness in man, destroy his personality and deprive him of an ability to act reasonably and critically. Nikolai Roerich, the well-known Russian artist and humanist, put down in his diary on October 20, 1947: "Everyone can see that war of nerves, psychological war, can corrupt man more than the real war."

Widely used in psychological war is subversive propaganda based on misinformation, lie, slander and forgery.

Paul Linebarger, generalizing the experience of World War II, gives many examples of such actions used by German, American and Japanese specialists in psychological war: broadcast of false, provocative announcements over the radio and telephone, discredit of representatives of the command among the troops, spreading of rumours, congratulation of fictitious agents for good work through lightly decoded data, and so on. In the war with France, the Germans, writes Linebarger, sent false letters to French soldiers from native cities in which they told that their wives allegedly adulterated or that they were down with venereal diseases... informed soldiers of the names and numbers of the units which were positioned against them in the Maginot line. gave the Parisian women mourning dresses free of charge...

But a specific feature of psychological war is that the spreaded information, or rather misinformation, is intended, first of all, for exerting psychological pressure upon audience. By appealing to emotions and playing upon instincts, it set the direct aim to sow panic and provoke animosity to certain people, institutions, values and disarm the enemy morally and bring it to shock.

Fred Landis, Chilean-born American, who studied the CIA's psychological war against a number of Latin American countries, tells in one of his articles about CIA methods through the false local press. By indirect attacks at members of a government, they skilfully use, he writes, combined photos of an official chosen as a target with the headlines which have nothing to do with him. Such propaganda and words associations were intended to influence people's subconsciousness.

On December 5, 1980, the Nicaraguan newspaper "Pensa" published a photo of Humberto Ortega, leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, next to a photo of a disfigured corpse. A badge of a Sandinista's policeman allegedly found near the body became a link connecting the two photos.

In Jamaica in the course of election campaign in 1980, "Daily Gleaner" placed photos of three ministers of the government, and to the right of them—an article under a huge headline "23 men raped 15-year-old girl". All the layout of the articles was aimed to shock the reader. A careful reader will find that the photos have nothing in common with the headline but... an emotional effect was, nevertheless, achieved.

Of course, methods of direct intimidation are also used in psychological war. Telling about the actions of the Americans during the war in Vietnam, Polish researcher Lesław Wojtasik writes: "To provoke horror, especially at night, they transmitted amplified recorded soul-re-

voking moans, cries, desperate weeping of a child and a mother. Buddhist funeral music, mysterious growling and sounds resembling voices of beasts of prey or imaginary forest demons were heard. These sounds were intermingled with the talk of a mother to her child or with lamentation of a crying child: 'Daddy, where are you? Why don't you come so long? I don't want you to be dead, come to us, mama and I are waiting for you!...'"

It is, of course, the extreme forms of psychological war. And as usual war, it can be waged with the employment of the greater or lesser portion of its arsenal, on a wider or narrow front, more or less "deep". In other words, it has its degrees of escalation and reaches its climax in the period of combat operations.

But in peaceful time, as the post-war decades show, the reactionary forces in the West continue their military-psychological operations against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as against developing countries. So it was even in the years of detente. Since the end of the 70s, and especially after Reagan administration came to power, the tendency to expansion and deepening of the front of this war is clearly seen.

"Practical Guide for Psychological Operations" published in the USA contains such operations as a blow to the trust of the leadership (of the given country—E. B.), fanning of discontent to the government among people of different religious, ethnic, economic and political orientation as well as setting them against each other, fanning the contradictions between military and politicians, etc. If we add to that such "operations" as, for example, formation of negative attitude to socialism, building tension among nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union or among countries of socialist commonwealth, spreading among population the pessimistic sentiments relating to the ability of socialist society to solve the tasks facing them etc., then we will have some notion about the tasks which the organizers of psychological war against socialist world try to solve. To the above we should add that today connected to the solution of these tasks is the broad network of propaganda institutions of the USA and its NATO allies, including the radio stations Voice of America, Freedom and Free Europe, special services of the CIA type, other governmental departments and private organizers in which, by the way, a psychologist turned to be a usual figure.

STRUGGLE OF IDEAS' OR 'WAR OF NERVES'

"Well," a Western reader will say, "in principle I share your aversion to psychological war. But don't you, Marxists, say yourselves that peaceful coexistence doesn't affect ideology and that ideological struggle is inevitable? Don't you cut off the bough on which you are sitting? Don't you contradict yourselves? And don't arrows that you are throwing at the apologists of psychological war return to you like boomerangs?"

Yes. I'll reply. Marxists deny peaceful coexistence in ideology, stating that the real struggle is going on in this sphere. But one thing is ideological struggle or, as it is called, "struggle of ideas" and quite different thing is psychological war which sometimes is called "war of nerves". Of course, it isn't an easy matter to draw a line between them, the more so that in practice they often get entangled and supplement each other. Nevertheless, if we try to compare these two phenomena with some important parameters then it's impossible but to notice that although they touch each other and somewhere even superimpose each other but they are different events in ideological activity.

Let's take an object of influence and those immediate aims in the name of which ideological and psychological wars are being waged. In ideological struggle, such an object is an ideological antagonist, an opponent, who holds other, sometimes quite opposite, opinions, adheres to other ideological positions but with whom I carry on an open dialogue. By the way, and it is rather important moment, the dialogue is carried on according to the rules of an "honest game", i.e., it is in conformity with the norms and principles of international law, with the letter and spirit of agreements existing between the opposing sides, at last, according to simple norms of morality the lack of which would make it impossible to have normal contacts among people. Naturally, if I engage in a honest argument with my opponent, I try to convince him or make him change his mind in something, prompt him to change his position in some or other question, and rearrange more or less radically his system of values. But I do it not by means of anonymous letters or telephone calls, which get on his psychics, but by the force of my logical arguments.

In psychological war an object of influence is already not an ideological opponent, but an enemy. And the immediate aim of the carried influence is not the change of his mind but—war is a war—suppression of his morale and his demoralization. What about moral

restrictions and prohibitions! L. Fraser, a well-known English specialist in the field of the theory of propaganda, writes that propaganda unscrupulous in means under equal conditions is more effective than propaganda taking considerations of moral limitations which hamper a propagandist to display his abilities. But the lessons in morality were taught by the head of Hitlerite propaganda Goebbels long before Fraser, and many today's, sometimes disguised, apologists of psychological war follow this propaganda.

Or let's take the methods of influencing the audience. Ideological, theoretical argument is unthinkable without emotions. But when carrying it, it must be emphasized once again, opponents are guided first of all by logical facts directed at this reason and conscience. Ideological struggle is not only collision but also competition of ideas, in a sense, competition of world outlooks and test of their strength. Psychological war is another matter. The first aim of it is emotions, the sphere of subconsciousness with the aim to deprive the enemy of the ability to sober see the events and force him to take decisions which are objectively against his vital interests, and to provoke his "dark" feelings such as fear, envy, hatred, and so on.

Many Western propaganda and psychological war manuals write quite openly about that. The above quoted Linebarger determining the role of a psychologist in psychological war says that psychologist can show such peculiarities of human reason which usually are latent. He can say how emotions can be transformed into indignation, personal resourcefulness into mass cowardliness, frictions into mistrust, prejudices into fury. Psychologist achieves this by influencing man's subconscious feelings which he uses as initial material. Linebarger concludes.

In other words, psychological war is a systematic influence upon men's psychics with the aim of obtaining a certain reaction from them, the reaction which is directed at the destabilization or even full destruction of certain system of values, institutions and relations. In a word, it is manipulation with the aim of his suppression.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR MUST BE OUTLAWED!

Our negative attitude to the "war of nerves" is well-known. "Socialism," writes Professor Volkogonov, Soviet specialist in the theory of propaganda, "doesn't need the methods and ways of psychological war." We believe in the force of our ideas and in the force of our reason. We reject psychological war

from humanistic considerations as well, the considerations which turn us into irreconcilable enemies of the employment of chemical, bacteriological or nuclear weapons.

We reject psychological war also by the reason of its danger to the cause of peace. Lasting peace requires not only lasting political and legal but also moral and psychological guarantees. It requires, in the first run, the education of peoples in the spirit of peaceful co-existence and mutual understanding, and the search of the ways to cooperation.

Psychological war explodes the bridges of trust among states and peoples, creates hostility, hatred and fear among them. Let's look more attentively at the actions of its initiators and organizers: they are working for two fronts. Psychological war against socialist countries is supplemented with the simultaneous psychological brainwashing of the population in the West in the spirit of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism. We have here not only rude attacks against Marxist ideology and against the USSR and its allies. We can also see here "unobtrusive" propaganda (tendentiously selected photographs or news, or open mass-produced forged publications) which instigates onlookers, readers, listeners to "independent" conclusions on the backwardness, inertness and aggressiveness of the peoples of socialist countries. Such propaganda provokes enmity to and fear of these countries. It is the aim of the Western propaganda campaigns to create such mass moods, or rather mass psychosis, like "violation of human rights in the USSR", "Soviet threat", "international terrorism", unfolded lately in the USA and supported by its allies. But mass fear and nervousness are also a rich soil for the arms race, foreign-policy adventures as well as for further escalation of psychological war against socialist world. And as a result, whether the supporters of psychological war know it or not, by their actions they near "hot" war and are pushing mankind to the abyss of nuclear catastrophe.

Where is the outcome? In what way can man defend his inner world against psychological aggression? In N. Roerich's diary we cited above, we read the following: "Panacea against such putrid epidemic (here he means psychological war—E. B.) is only in the grains of culture. Everybody can grow these grains and in every position. Everyone can sow good grains everywhere and especially among children. Weighty word will enter child's mind for ever. Short and good utterance gets coined in the convolutions of the brain, isn't obliterated with years and if necessary can be removed from the treasury of knowledge."

There is no doubt that culture has always been the great force in preserving peace and moral purity on earth. It remains the same in our days too. It isn't accidental that Roerich's slogan "Peace Through Culture" has become a credo of some progressive Western artists who are against war.

But only cultural barriers cannot stop psychological war. It seems, to my mind, other means are needed. Maybe it's time to put the question of prohibiting psychological war, at least some of its forms? In other words, to demand to put it out of law and to exclude it from international practice as it is the case with chemical or biological war?

Some Western opponents may smile at me saying: "Oh, well, you want to change human nature, turn people into good souls who always say the truth and only the truth? Or maybe you want to clean politics from lie and hypocrisy and military matters from military crafts? All this resembles utopia. How can an agreement on prohibition of psychological war be reached if there is no understanding of this phenomenon? If we are not mistaken, international lawyers spent about thirty years to find out the determination of the term "aggression..."

But we mustn't forget that not everybody in the West—in Europe, the USA and other regions—are interested in waging psychological war or at least in its further escalation. Inside the ruling class in capitalist countries there are big political figures and whole groupings who stand on realistic positions and who are ready to continue the dialogue started in the period of detente with the East and who well understand that it cannot be achieved under the conditions of psychological war.

The important factor of deterring the latter is that the Soviet Union and other members of socialist commonwealth are in principle against the provocative attempts to draw them into such war. On the contrary, they see their task to further by all means the irradiation of psychological war from the life of society while not abandoning the propaganda abroad of the achievements of socialism.

The readers, of course, know about new Soviet Union's proposals to subordinate the relations among powers possessing nuclear weapons to certain norms including such as refusal from the propaganda of nuclear war in any variants: global or limited; obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and so on. Why don't make attempts to work out the code of the behaviour of countries in the sphere of in-

ternational relations? Let's, say, try to reach an agreement on prohibition of some concrete forms, methods and means of propaganda on an official level? Undoubtedly, it would require certain efforts to work out the term "psychological war" acceptable for all sides. Maybe there are serious difficulties on this way and discussion would require a certain time. What is important—it must bring fruit. To achieve this, sincere efforts of all its participants are needed.

There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. And if it is the case, all countries—big and small—must learn to live side by side in our small world and reach an agreement on reasonable rules to live in planetary community. We must approach the solution of this rather complex problem right today. Tomorrow it would be too late because psychological war is a war.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ARMS SALES BLAMED FOR THIRD-WORLD ARMS RACE

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[Article by Nodari Simoniya, doctor of historical sciences: "The Arms Race and the Developing Countries"]

[Text]

The global arms race which has been initiated by the reactionary forces of imperialism, above all the US, is exerting today an ever more profound and multifaceted impact on the situation in the developing countries. Today it is abundantly clear that the young states are being increasingly drawn into a parallel arms race, known as the "mini-race". In the West and in some newly-free countries there is now a trend to regard the latter, to a certain extent, in separation from the global arms race and to stress the local or regional character of the conflicts impelling different states to build up their military might. Such an approach is fundamentally wrong both from the viewpoint of history and the present situation.

First and foremost, one should bear in mind that local or regional conflicts in their absolute majority are a result of the colonial past. Of course, to a certain extent, some of these conflicts may also be predetermined by the historical development of inter-regional relations between Oriental countries themselves, which once resulted in the formation of big and small feudal empires that united by force different peoples and tribes. This was true for such former semi-colonies as the Ottoman Empire, China, Thailand and so on. The main reason, however, is that the shaping of multinational or multi-ethnic states within the present-day boundaries occurred under the influence of external factors, which included the colonial drive of the West and the "uniting" efforts by Portuguese, Dutch, British and other colonialists.

Colonialism has not only preserved the historically existing inequality of races, peoples and tribes which took shape in feudal and prefeudal time, but also actively and purposefully contributed to its aggravation. Pitting one people against another, fanning national strife, causing artificial division of labour along ethnic and religious lines, and relying on certain ethnic groups in the population were among the favourite methods of the colonial policy pursued by practically all imperialist powers. It is therefore little wonder that almost all acute local and regional conflicts between the developing countries have their roots in the colonial past. Suffice it to recall the conflicts between India and Pakistan, Somalia and Ethiopia and many other countries. All those problems are closely intertwined with the previous policy of imperialist powers which, however, have nothing against warming their hands today as well, whipping up local and regional conflicts and sometimes grossly interfering in them (the developments in Lebanon, and in Chad are graphic examples).

Such are the historical prerequisites for drawing the developing countries into the arms race. However, this phenomenon cannot be understood and evaluated correctly today without taking other facts into consideration.

Soon after the end of the Second World War, the US, together with its allies, attempted to involve Asian states into the military blocs set up by Washington (the Baghdad Pact, and later CENTO, SEATO), worked to build military bases on the territory

of Asian countries, concluded bilateral "security agreements" with some of them and began rendering military aid to the young states. As a result, military hardware began to be sent as well to the backward countries, which primarily were in need of economic support and development.

Since then certain details of this strategic line of imperialism were of course modified. For example, a new factor was introduced into the policy of setting up military bases outside the US. Being aware that a protracted presence of US troops abroad causes universal discontent and worsens relations with the local population, Washington began signing agreements of a new type with some developing countries (Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Oman). In accordance with them, depots for stockpiling military hardware and munitions are created without direct and continual presence there of large contingents of US military forces. However, the latter are given the right to "temporary access" to those bases during "crisis situation". Thus, the purpose of the military bases has not undergone any changes and it is quite clear how, in case of a global "crisis situation" the Pentagon would use those bases without first asking permission from respective governments. The present US Administration plans to spend almost \$1.5 billion on the implementation of its agreements with Oman, Somalia and Kenya on the use by American armed forces of the national military bases in those countries, their modernisation and the building of new military projects in 1983-1987 alone. Such bases are already functioning in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other countries, to say nothing of the fact that the agreement on "strategic cooperation" with Israel gave the US the right to unlimited use of that country's bases by US armed forces. The United States has come very close to acquiring access to military bases in Pakistan.

All this in no way means that the US has lost interest in the bases of old type. It should be borne in mind that according to data for 1982, the Pentagon maintained over 1,500 bases and installations on the territories of 32 states. Moreover, efforts have been taken to bolster American positions, though an insignificant compromise had to be made. For example, soon after the "normalisation" of US-Chinese relations, the three-year-long negotiations on the destiny of US bases in the Philippines were quickly completed. As a result of the agreement that had been worked out, the US preserved the right to carrying out

unhindered any military operations with the use of the largest military complexes outside their territory—Clark Field Air Base,¹ and Subic Bay Naval Base, which serves as a servicing and refuelling point for ships of the US 7th Fleet in the Pacific Ocean. Though the government of the Philippines secured "complete control" over these bases and the elimination of their extraterritoriality, nevertheless, under US pressure it had to be satisfied with only a few insignificant concessions on the part of the US. The amendments in the operating treaty boiled down to the creation of the post of a Philippine Commander of the bases (who, however, has no real rights), to the hoisting of the Philippine flag together with the American one, and to some reduction of the territory of the bases.

The setting up of the rapid deployment force, the Pentagon's other "novelty", is directly linked with the new base policy. In conformity with the "quick response" strategy, the Pentagon is training shock military units that can be quickly airlifted to

any area of the world. It should be pointed out that the number of those units is skyrocketing. Initially the Pentagon's plans called for between 100,000 and 110,000 servicemen, whereas today its plans have been expanded to include more than 300,000 officers and men. This is particularly alarming in light of the US's creation in early 1983 of the so-called "Central Command", which covers 19 states of West Africa, Southwest Asia and the Arabian Peninsula.

As for the bloc policy, judging by all appearances, the US is ready to reconcile itself to the emergence of the organisations of a new type (for example, ASEAN), without US direct participation. However, the United States is striving to impart to all these organisations the character of military blocs which depend militarily, politically and economically on the US and its allies (Japan, Australia, and others).

Despite certain modifications, the strategy of enlisting the developing countries—their territories, resources, armed forces, etc., into the global confrontation of imperialism with the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Treaty has been preserved, and the geographical borders of its application were enlarged with due account of the US's increasingly broad interpretation of the concept of "protection".

¹ This base covers more than 52,000 hectares of Philippine land.

of US national interests". All this creates the impression that there is no place in the world without US "interests" which the Pentagon is ready to defend.²

And the Pentagon does "defend" them, trampling underfoot the elementary standards of international law. The US military's direct armed interference in Lebanon and the brazen aggression against Grenada demonstrate the extent of Washington's militaristic psychosis.

Mention should be made of another aspect of the policy of the US and NATO countries as regards the developing countries, the aspect contributing to the militarisation of the latter and their artificial involvement in the global arms race. The US and its allies ignore completely the objectively law-governed and historically inevitable character of the progressive socio-economic changes in the developing world. Let us note that the turn made by the US from international detente towards stronger confrontation

with the USSR and the entire socialist community was officially motivated, in particular, by the changes in the developing countries unfavourable to the West, which the Soviet Union allegedly used to buttress its political positions there. The US and its allies sought to interpret detente and the concepts of peaceful coexistence as a road towards the division of the world into spheres of influence with a "guaranteed" socio-political status quo in each of those spheres. As for the social changes in the developing countries, they were regarded as a result of some Soviet "intrigues", and this "logically" justified the US's urge to "block" these changes by means of escalating military and strong-arm methods, changing the global alignment of forces in its favour.

As a result of such cravings by imperialism, the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s was characterised by a qualitatively new phenomenon, i. e., the unusually intensive drawing of the newly-free countries in the arms race. The following data give a rough idea of

² In one of his speeches US Secretary of State Schultz stated that, according to the Brookings Institution, during the postwar years US armed forces were dispatched 185 times to the developing countries in connection with the situations which "threatened political and economic interests of the USA".

the scale and speed of this process: in 1960 the developing countries accounted for only 4.5 per cent of world military expenditures; in 1970 they accounted for 7.2 per cent; in 1975 their proportion had climbed to 13.5 per cent, and by 1980 the figure had reached 16.1 per cent.³ According to the Secretariat of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, in 1981 they already accounted for 19 per cent. Sometimes the importance of this phenomenon is underestimated. Some people say, for example, that the scope of the "mini-race" is at present relatively small and that the share of world military spending accounted for

by the developing countries is not so impressive. However, it depends on from whose viewpoint this percentage should be analysed. First, for the developing countries with their backwardness and widespread poverty and hunger and the lack of material and financial resources, a one per cent share of world military expenditures is something quite different than it is for the industrialised states. According to existing estimates, the world military expenditures amounted to \$500 billion in 1980, and 16 per cent of this sum, or \$80 billion, is accounted for by the developing countries. This is more than the total influx of capital (both on favourable and strict commercial terms) to the newly-free countries from the industrialised capitalist states in the same year. Second, there has been a steady growth of this percentage and, judging by the data for 1981-1983, the trend will continue to hold.

In addition one should bear in mind the fact that the arsenal of armaments in the developing countries has been used and continues to be used now on a large scale, and these actively operating arsenals are in no way limited to a mini-size. Suffice it to recall that during the Middle East War in October 1973, 5,000 tanks took part in the hostilities from both sides. In June 1967 in the Sinai more tanks were employed than fascist Germany used in attacking the USSR in 1941.

In passing it should be mentioned that the "mini-race" has another negative aspect—a psychological one. The reduction of the danger of that phenomenon is promoted, among other things, by the fact that today the arms race in the developing countries concerns mainly the so-called con-

³ *World Armament and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1981*, London, 1981, pp. 156-159.

ventional armaments (although reports could be found in the press long ago about the desire of some pro-imperialist regimes to join the nuclear arms race). The term "conventional weapons" creates the comforting impression that such a mini-race is insignificant and unimportant. Most aggressive imperialist circles have been seeking to make use of this.

As US political scientist Michael T. Klare notes, we are at present witnessing the elimination of differences between conventional weapons and nuclear tactical armaments. According to M. Klare, since the US aggression in Vietnam, "revolutionary" changes have occurred in the manufacture of conventional weaponry, which are capable of radically changing the entire character of modern warfare. In the course of the Vietnam war the US developed new types of weapons using infra-red detectors and smell detectors, pellet bombs dropped over vast territories, etc. Later these weapons were upgraded considerably and their efficiency was increased many times. As a result, they became "quasi-nuclear" weapons i. e., conventional ammunition, whose destructive force is equal to that of tactical nuclear warheads.

Some of these new types of barbarous "quasi-nuclear" armaments were already tested by the Israeli aggressors in Lebanon in the summer of 1982, including the suction bomb, and pellet shells, super-accurate guiding systems which are especially dangerous when targeted at places where many people have concentrated. Taking into account that the limitations existing with respect to nuclear weapons are not extended to the "conventional weapons", it is easy to imagine the danger the inclusion of "quasi-nuclear" types of weapons in the process of the "mini-race" poses to the developing countries.

If an objective analysis is made, one cannot fail to acknowledge that it is the policies pursued by NATO countries, the US in particular, which account for the main bulk of the military supplies to the young states that serve as the principal stimulator for the arms race in the developing countries. According to the most conservative estimates of foreign news agencies, the US and its major allies account for no less than two-thirds of world exports of weaponry. Between 1977 and 1980 the United States accounted for 43.3 per cent of the world exports of armaments to the developing countries, France was responsible for 10.8 per cent, Italy for 4 per cent, Britain for 3.7 per cent. The contracts for deliveries of US weapons

signed in 1982 alone were worth \$19.5 billion, with the greater part of these weapons being bought by Middle East countries. The exports of armaments have become a major component of the military-political strategy of the largest Western powers, the US above all, which invariably take the lead in the exports of weapons and technical services. As a rule, the latter fact is not taken into account by statistics. Meanwhile, only around 40 cents of each dollar spent by Iran for the purchases of weapons were spent on armaments themselves, whereas the rest of the sum went for spare parts and technical services.

Arms purchases are a heavy burden on the state budgets of many newly-free countries, increasing their balance of payments deficit. For example, in 1978, about 50 per cent of the present deficit of the current balances of payments in all developing countries was caused by the purchases of weapons. This comes as little wonder, for back in 1960 the developing countries spent only about \$1 billion for this purpose. In 1978 spending on weapons grew to \$15.5 billion, and by 1980 the figure had swelled to \$19.5 billion. This trend looks truly ominous in the light of the recent forecast made by the experts from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, according to which by 1995 the developing countries' balance of payments deficit will top \$276 billion and their external debts will reach an astronomic figure, i. e., almost \$2 trillion.

Of course, military aid and commercial supplies of armaments are purposeful and initially concerned a relatively small group of countries. The matter, however, is that a chain reaction of the arms race emerges almost immediately and inevitably. While drawing some states into their global military political strategy and promoting the creation there of considerable arsenals of modern weapons, Western countries simultaneously alter the alignment of forces, destabilise the situation in the region and among countries, compelling genuinely non-aligned and peaceloving countries to make the redistribution of the already meagre resources to bolster their defence capability. The United States has made a tradition out of sending modern, including the most sophisticated, weapons to those countries which have already demonstrated their aggressive intentions. When Somalia attacked Ethiopia, the US immediately offered military assistance not to the victim of the aggression but to the aggressor. The Pol Pot gangs regularly attack peaceful citizens of Kampu-

chea from the territory of Thailand and under the cover of Thai artillery, and the United States is airlifting increasingly larger batches of weapons to Thailand. Pakistan gave its territory for the formation of gangs of Afghan counterrevolutionaries, and it was immediately given generous military aid, upsetting the balance of forces in South Asia and forcing India to take corresponding measures. Large quantities of US armaments are being sent to Honduras which has become a bridgehead for the subversive activities of the CIA against Nicaragua. It recently came to light that the US is illegally supplying the Iranian armed forces with spare parts for US weapons, thereby fostering the continuation of the meaningless and sanguinary Iranian-Iraqi war.

The US Administration literally inundates with weapons the areas which are already explosive, thus provoking the neighbouring countries to respond and seek assistance from other sources. The Middle East has been the endpoint of up to 70 per cent of US arms exports in recent years. Among the main buyers are such countries as Israel, whose annual military expenditures are much higher than total capital investments; Saudi Arabia, whose military spending in recent years ranges from between \$2,000 and \$2,500 per capita, the highest figure in the world (the average world military spending per capita in 1980 was \$110). The steady expansion of arms purchases by the young states in the past decade have turned them into its biggest buyers (today they account for up to 75 per cent of all exports of weapons from the developed countries).

As a result of the "mini-race" local conflicts are fought with increasingly greater quantities of weapons, and this in no way contributes to a successful solution of real or imaginary problems. For many years now tens of thousands of people are being killed or wounded, even more people are driven from their homes, but the

Middle East conflict and, in particular, the Palestine problem as its core, remain unresolved. All this is quite natural because the weapons that are sold are not intended to help any developing country to solve any national or even wrongly understood "national" problem. In the final analysis, the weapons are designed to expand the confrontation with the world socialist system, to involve an increasing number of countries into this confrontation and to curtail the spread of the national liberation movement. That is why the "mini-race" invariably elevates local problems onto a new level, expands them on the regional and global scale, thus making them even broader. It follows, therefore, that the "mini-race" is a continuation and part and parcel of the global arms race. It is increasingly turning into a factor of aggravation of international tension, and this trend can be traced far back.

Today no one doubts the tremendous damage the "mini-race" of armaments has brought to the developing countries. It directly exhausts their resources of economic development. Such a "proliferating" arms race intensifies the negative trends linked with the general and profound structural crisis of the world capitalist system, leads to a further lowering of the rates of growth in the developing countries, deteriorates their export positions, and brings about their greater indebtedness. It undermines the efforts of the young states to establish a new, more just world economic order.

Saving the material resources which are senselessly squandered on the arms race and discovering the inexhaustible potentialities of man can unite people and determine the policies of states at the turn of the 21st century. To realise these tasks, it is necessary to halt the forces of militarism and use joint efforts to prevent the world from sliding into the abyss.

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INTERNATIONAL

REASONS FOR INEFFICIENCY OF STATE-OWNED AFRICAN INDUSTRY

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[Article by Aleksandr Melikdzhanyan: "Africa: State Sector: Questions of Increasing Efficiency and Profitability"]

[Text]

While being a fact of life, the extensive investment and business activity of the national state in countries of Africa and in the developing world as a whole continues, however, to remain an object of heated discussions within the framework of the struggle for choosing the development strategy, for subordinating the state's economic machine to the interests of this or that class, this or that social group. Questions of evaluating the efficiency of the state sector comprise one of the important directions of this debate.

At the very beginning of Africa's decolonisation Western theoreticians and experts mostly rejected the very idea of state intervention in the economic life of the emergent countries, regarding this not only as a direct encroachment on the "sacred principles" of private (first of all, foreign) ownership but also as a potential danger of the transition of these countries to the non-capitalist road. With the passage of time the neocolonialism's attitude to the state sector became ever more pragmatic. It turned out that the formation of the African national bourgeoisie was not only a very contradictory process but also an insufficiently rapid one to impart the objectively necessary dynamism to economic growth. Moreover, the incipient African bourgeoisie differs considerably in a number of features from the "classical" type of businessman, this impeding the application of traditional bourgeois recipes to the present social and economic situation in the continent's developing countries.

Taking into account these and other circumstances the neocolonialists are trying to adapt the mechanism of state enterprise to their interests. In the development models preached by them the state is given the limited role of a stimulator of spontaneous market forces or of a filler of the "vacuum of private business initiative". With the strengthening of the national bourgeoisie the sphere of its interference in the economy must narrow.

Objecting to the expansion of the direct economic functions of the state many bourgeois scholars argue that the state sector in developing countries is either inefficient altogether or less efficient than the private one. Moreover, the very category of efficiency is interpreted exclusively from commercial positions. The more orthodox representatives of this direction refer to the supposedly "innate" non-profitability of enterprises of the state sector, arguing this by saying first, that the "market discipline" does not apply to them, second, that since the managerial personnel operates with state and not their own money this makes them less interested in maximising profits and, third, that these enterprises operate under political restrictions that fetter their freedom of action.

It is not difficult, of course, to find facts corroborating this point of view. It appears that deficits have become chronic in the state sector of many countries. 1980 was considered to be a rather good one for Mali's state companies and their aggregate losses amounted that year to 9.3 bil-

lion Mali francs, or 6.8 per cent of the annual turnover. In the 1970s the losses of mixed companies in Senegal reached almost 15 per cent of the invested capital. In the Sudan the deficit of state enterprises incurred in current operations (after the payment of taxes and interest on credits) amounted in 1979-1980 to 42.7 million Sudanese pounds. State infrastructural and many industrial enterprises in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and other countries "traditionally" operate at a loss.

Nevertheless the claim that unprofitability is built into state enterprises is refuted by the practice of those developing countries where not only individual production units but whole branches and in some instances (the Ivory Coast, Egypt, Tanzania, Tunisia) the entire state sector functions with a profit.

It is another matter that the overall yield of state investments is still small. The accumulations of state enterprises rarely exceed one to two per cent of the GDP, while the share of revenue from the state sector in the current budget of 24 African countries in the 1970s amounted on the average to less than six per cent. True, sometimes the above-mentioned share is higher on the whole but usually such a result is achieved by the efforts of a limited number of enterprises. In some cases these are mining enterprises (extraction of oil in Algeria, Libya, Nigeria, the copper mining companies in Zambia), in other cases these are financial institutions, traditional fiscal monopolies or "marketing boards" engaged in the sale of farm produce on the world market. The state manufacturing industry—this cornerstone of national development—has not yet become a reliable source of accumulation.

Meantime the low level of the state sector's profit rate enters into conflict with the strategy of African countries directed at lessening their financial and economic dependence on the West and at invigorating in every way the internal impulses of development, a strategy that drastically increases the need of both making more effective use of resources attracted from outside and of expanding the domestic sources of accumulation.

A complex of factors reflecting the general dependence of the developing economy on external impulses of growth stands out among the causes of the unfavourable financial position of state enterprises. This dependence manifests itself at all stages of the state sector's development—

from the designing of new facilities to ensuring their functioning. Besides, state enterprises form the nucleus of the export sector of the economy whose profits are determined by fluctuations of the world market.

Whereas the tendency of growing productivity and profitability was characteristic of many African countries from the mid-1960s to 1973-1974, the tendency of deteriorating production results of the state sector became dominant beginning in the mid-1970s because of higher prices for imported raw materials (especially oil), semi-manufactures, spare parts and more expensive credits, as well as because of growing protectionism in the west. As a result prospects are far from cloudless even where the situation was relatively stable.

At the same time the profitability of this sector is affected by the numerous "growing pains" and structural disproportions of state enterprise: the imbalanced nature of its social and economic aspects, unsatisfactory methods of price formation and miscalculations in financing projects.

The budget investments of African states reveal a large share of them in infrastructural facilities and basic industries characterised by a high organic structure of capital and slow turnover of funds, this having a negative impact on the norm of profit. In the developing countries entirely new industries are set up at the expense of the treasury as a result of which the state bears substantial "pioneering" expenditures. These industries are the first to encounter the problem of adjusting modern technology to local conditions, of the shortage of skilled national personnel and the need for additional spending to get the output to the market. So these capacities take more time to go into service as compared to similar complexes in more developed countries, and the spending on their "inclusion" in the economic structure is substantially greater, leading to a general worsening of the "capital-output" indicator.

But one should not overestimate the negative impact of the specific branch structure on the profitability of the state sector. In some countries enterprises of the production infrastructure not only successfully solve the task of assisting the development of the national economy, but also achieve in the process substantial financial returns. It appears that the losses of most such enterprises should be explained with due account for

other factors (excessively low tariffs, unsatisfactory organisation of production, etc.).

The amount of savings in the state sector is closely dependent on the policy of price formation. The turning of the price into an important element of regulating the process of reproduction and of influencing the social sphere requires a scientific substantiation of price formation and its linkage with other aspects of the economic policy.

In developing countries the price, apparently, cannot precisely reflect the social value of output forming in the economy. But here the developing states display a noticeable tilt towards the one-sided use of the price mechanism solely as an instrument supplementing and often substituting for the distribution of national income among the budget headings.

The rapid growth of the "zones of absolute poverty" forces the authorities to extensively resort to social manoeuvring, including the establishment of fixed prices on staples and the compensation of the losses suffered by enterprises manufacturing them by way of budget subsidies. In Egypt, for instance, subsidies to enterprises subordinated to the ministry of industry alone increased from 6.2 million Egyptian pounds in 1976 to 102.4 million in 1978, while the number of subsidised enterprises soared from 4 to 60. Subsidies in Zambia increased 14-fold in the 1970s and actually equalled the volume of budget investments. Similar tendencies are observed in other African countries as well, especially those where the rates of inflation are high. Early in the 1980s in the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Madagascar all types of subsidies swallowed from 8 to 12 per cent of the budget revenue.

The African governments are displaying an understandable desire to somehow sustain the living standards of the poor and sometimes of the middle strata. But manipulation of prices warrants caution and thorough consideration. It should not push to the background other levers of influencing the social sphere. The experience of many countries on the continent shows that by themselves price controls are not always capable of curbing the growth of the cost of living. Inflation paves a road for itself through the black market where a big proportion of the subsidised commodities turn up. As a result, concern for the consumer in practice only enriches the blackmarketeers and middlemen. At the same time,

while depriving planning bodies of reliable landmarks and not providing enterprises with the necessary financial resources (budget subsidies usually do not fully make up for the losses caused by price cutting), deviations of prices from cost impede the reduction of the deficit by increasing production.

Relations with the existing private-capitalist sector, including foreign companies, need to be rationalised as well. The setting of artificially low prices (often not even meeting production cost) for commodities supplied to the above-mentioned sector is regarded as a compulsory element of stimulating production, but in the process tariffs are hardly differentiated depending on the contingent of consumers. Whereas assistance to small-scale capitalist businesses is quite normal in the given circumstances, the artificial lowering of prices on goods produced by big private business, as it is demonstrated by the experience of many countries, does not spur a noticeable pickup in business activity and has a boomerang effect in that it fosters inequality in society and creates additional difficulties for financing development plans. On the whole the setting of prices on state sector production in African countries is characterised by the absence of any methodological principles whatsoever and the preponderance of willful decisions and transient interests.

Under price controls, amid competition and instability in foreign markets, reduction of production costs is the most important method for increasing the profitability of state enterprises.

Idleness of capacities observed not only in the state-owned but also in the entire industry of the continent's developing countries occupies a special place among the reasons determining high costs and, as such explains the low profit rate of state enterprises. It is only in rare cases that the production potential of the state sector is employed by more than 50 per cent, the average utilisation of industrial capacities ranging from 20 to 40 per cent.

According to UNIDO estimates, 54 per cent of the idleness of industrial capacities in developing countries in the 1960s could be explained by shortages of raw materials, 25 per cent by marketing difficulties and 21 per cent by lack of turnover capital. By comparing these figures with the materials of a study done late in the 1970s on the utilisation of production capacities in Egypt's

and Tanzania's industry, we will see that the causes of the inefficient utilisation of capital equipment remain the same as two decades ago.

As before shortages of raw materials and semi-manufactures are the most typical cause. In Egypt half of the investigated state industrial companies mentioned the unfavourable effect of this factor. In Tanzania shortages of raw materials had a negative impact on the performance of 32 out of 40 industrial enterprises (including private ones) that were surveyed. Of these, 28 enterprises named the shortage of foreign currency as the main cause of inadequate supplies of raw materials. Twenty-five per cent of Tanzanian companies encountered marketing problems because of slack demand. Every third Egyptian enterprise referred to the shortage of turnover capital.

Many of these problems are rooted in the stage of designing and building state enterprises. It is not by chance that most companies in Egypt and Tanzania noted unsatisfactory pre-investment feasibility studies. One could cite numerous examples of the construction in the state sector of "prestige" projects, of poor location of enterprises, of errors in selecting sources of raw materials and appraising future demand for output. Quite often Western consultant firms that do the forecasting studies are responsible for this.

Factors of an organisational nature play a considerable role in increasing costs and reducing the profitability of the state sector: weak coordination of the activity of various managerial units, replacement of real control with petty interference in the day-to-day operations of state enterprises and red tape in the adoption and approval of decisions. It is standard practice in the state sector to employ more factory floor and office personnel than are necessary.

True, the problem of employment in the region is becoming increasingly urgent because of the interplay of demographic, social, economic and other factors. The authorities simply cannot ignore this and pin special hopes precisely on the state sector. But, often taking the line of the least resistance, the guiding bodies explicitly instruct enterprises and institutions of the state sector to hire more workers than necessary, mostly unskilled ones. As a result, amid the idleness of a great part of the production capacities and a shortage of skilled personnel, there takes place an "inflation" of auxiliary services and of the lowest echelon of managerial personnel who are very remote

from the process of production. All this has a negative effect not only on the structure and size of costs, but also on labour productivity, discipline and, ultimately, on the profitability of enterprises.

The problem of financing the state sector is now coming to the fore among the causes slowing down its profit rate. The insufficiency of budget allocations and money for self-financing compels enterprises to make up the deficit by borrowing from banks. What's more, not only mid-term but even short-term commercial credits are quite often used for investment purposes. The growing share of borrowed money in the structure of capital siphons away considerable sums to repay debts and pay back interest, in the long run blocking the fulfilment of the state sector's possibilities in the sphere of accumulation.

But still the statements by plant managers about a shortage of funds should not be taken at face value. Studies show that the structure of the turnover capital of these enterprises is by far not rational. Hoarding of equipment and materials as a buffer against shortcomings in the system of supply is typical virtually of all factories and plants, including private ones. The share of cash in the turnover capital greatly exceeds the norms accepted in industrially developed countries. It happens quite often that the cost of a project is set too high, that the construction of new enterprises is started although there are idle capacities in this very industry, and that there are direct violations of financial discipline. Appointments to key managerial posts are often determined by political, including tribalist considerations. It is therefore little wonder that the competence of people who get thus appointed is inadequate.

Alas, in a number of countries the state sector is not free of corruption and outright embezzlement. But contrary to the contentions of those who are against it in principle, these are by no means vices "inherent" in state enterprise. Very often transnational corporations are involved in the bribery of officials in the state sector. As is known, they have long included in their arsenal this, so to say, method of competitive struggle.

So perfecting the methods of financing the state sector appears to be not so much a matter of increasing budget allocations (in many instances this is simply impossible because of the budget deficit), as of introducing order in the utilisation of existing funds by way of increas-

ing financial control and resolutely curbing corruption and embezzlement.

Another important factor of the low profitability of the state sector is that for a long time value criteria had been pushed into the background when assessing its efficiency. This was largely a result of a non-critical copying of Western recipes of economic development which allotted the state sector only an auxiliary role and denied the very category of profitability within the framework of state enterprise.

Contrary to these views Soviet economists, while admitting that profit has different functions in the state (planned) and private sectors, contends that an allround assessment of the activity of the state sector in developing countries requires that both its social and economic efficiency be taken into account.

An international research centre to study problems of state enterprise in developing countries was set up in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in the mid-1970s. A seminar held there in June 1981 assessed the financial position of the state sector in these countries as "grim". Speaking of the need to adopt effective measures, the participants in the seminar stressed that, despite the entire importance of social motives, one should not ignore the criterion of economic efficiency and such value categories as profit and price. It is noted in United Nations recommendations on questions of shoring up state finances that for many commercial and industrial enterprises of the state sector the primary aims are the growth of their production efficiency and profitability, of their contribution to the process of national capital formation. These suggestions have not gone without response. Practical measures are now being taken in many African countries to ensure the profitability of state enterprises and to lessen their dependence on the budget. To help the developing countries in this the centre in Ljubljana has worked out a special programme designed to step up the efforts of the managerial personnel in the state sector in tapping internal reserves for increasing its efficiency and profitability.

It goes without saying that it is no easy task to strike a reasonable balance between the social and economic functions. Many enterprises servicing agricultural production or facilitating the development of backward areas, factories and plants manufacturing currency-earning products or prime necessities, the social infrastructure cannot yet set their sights on profit. It is important here to press for a growth of output and labour

productivity, and for a reduction of production costs. These exceptions, however, do not belie the general rule: the state sector is capable of successfully solving its problems only if it possesses its own sufficiently sound financial base.

Within the framework of perfecting the mechanism of state enterprise it is very important to find an optimal ratio between centralisation and autonomy in various aspects of production and financial activity. Lateley one hears increasingly often calls for enterprises to be given a "free hand" and freed from "excessive" control by the state. Thus, demands are being made for greater financial autonomy for enterprises, for giving them the right to retain the greater part of their profit and to seek on their own additional financial resources in the market of capital. This model, actually copying the forms of organisation of private business, hardly accords with the realities of the African continent.

The need for the rapid modernisation of economic structures, for liquidating archaic social relations amid a shortage of all types of resources, which is typical for a poorly developed economy, necessitates a centralised regulation of material and financial streams which, however, should not be equated with voluntarism and bureaucratic issuing of orders. Functioning as they are in conditions of the domination of commodity relations enterprises cannot do without a certain freedom of manoeuvre, the extent of which is determined by the level of development of the national economy in question and the place held in it by a certain economic unit. Otherwise there will be the danger of a gap originating between state enterprise and the mechanism of national planning.

What is taking place in Africa now is mostly empirical search of forms of organisation of state production adequate to the level of development of the productive forces and the tasks of economic development. The sense of responsibility for the results of the business at hand has not yet become a norm for the managerial personnel in the state sector and as a result of this the preservation of the "monitoring" of enterprises appears to be inevitable. Ensuring a better balance of deficit resources and their more rational distribution in accordance with the aims of the national development strategy, such an order, naturally, does not rule out a search for acceptable variants of combining centralisation with autonomy, a gradual

expansion of the rights of enterprises with the strengthening of their financial position and accumulation of experience.

Perfection of intra-plant planning, transition to a more substantiated method of price formation, rationalisation of methods of financing and of controlling the spending of funds, improvement of material and technical supply, efforts to save raw materials that are in short supply, to ensure a thrifty attitude towards equipment and to strengthen labour discipline, and a drive against abuse — such is an approximate list of measures capable of improving the production and financial performance of the state sector and weakening the negative influence of the objective difficulties of growth on the economy.

The ways and methods of solving the problems facing the state sector are determined in many ways by the general orientation of a specific country's development. The subordinated position of the state sector in the social and economic structure of countries that are evolving towards capitalism substantially distorts also the scale of evaluations of its activity. The bourgeois and pro-bourgeois ruling circles cannot permit considerable and excessively lengthy losses by state enterprises that would burden the budget and prevent the fulfilment by the state sector of its functions to create normal conditions for capitalist reproduction. But neither do these circles wish a too obvious manifestation of the advantages of state enterprise. As a result the calls to increase the profitability of the state sector often are nothing more than empty declarations without any practical activity to back them up.

A consistent implementation of the principle of the profitable functioning of the state economy and an

organic linkage of this principle with the solution of national strategic tasks is possible in countries of the socialist orientation where the state sector is being developed on a planned and democratic basis, where the goal is to build such a society in which, to quote Lenin, the "surplus product goes not to the class of proprietors, but to all working people, and only to them".

Greater cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states is of much importance for raising the efficiency of state enterprise in Africa's developing countries. Unlike Western countries, the Soviet Union gives priority to assisting the development of the state sector. It also devotes much attention not only to the expansion of the material and technical base of the state sector through the construction of new projects but also to the shoring up of the financial position of state enterprise by raising the profitability of enterprises built with the assistance of the USSR.

The forms and terms of cooperation are being constantly perfected for this purpose. Ever greater use is being made of buy-back agreements under which the cost of the supplied equipment, technological documentation, etc., is partially or fully compensated for by deliveries of output manufactured at enterprises built with the USSR's assistance. This does much to solve the marketing problem and creates preconditions for the normal utilisation of production capacities.

In the process of the construction and putting into operation of the new projects the Soviet Union extensively trains national personnel, sharing with them not only technological know-how but also managerial experience, and this is another factor of considerable importance promoting the efficiency of state enterprise. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

MODERNIZATION CAUSES ECONOMIC, ETHNIC STRAINS IN MAGHRIB

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[Article by Robert Landa, doctor of historical sciences: "Maghrib: Transformation of Traditional Structures"]

[Text]

It seems that nowhere on earth have capitalism and its colonies been in such close proximity as in the Maghrib. By 1940 1.5 million Europeans were living in countries of that region (including Libya) and amounted to more than a tenth of their population. They controlled 80 to 90 per cent of all business in industry, trade and transport and farmed 4.9 million hectares of the most fertile land. They held all important posts in the administration, helping them to put in place new social relations, economic mechanisms and incentives, methods of organisation of work, stereotypes of culture, etc., that "germinated" through the former, traditional ones.

"Without a deep study of colonial structures and colonial policy it is impossible to understand our present structures and contemporary trends", M. Djender, one of the first historians of independent Algeria, justly argues.¹ But there are also other, even more far-reaching viewpoints. Thus, the Abd elkader Djeghloul, an Algerian scholar on the Middle Ages, contends that prior to the advent of the colonialists numerous types of production relations and forms of social life had already existed in the Maghrib.² "It appears that in precolonial Maghrib all forms of production were present, ranging

¹ M. Djender, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Algérie*, Algiers, 1966, p. 197.

² See *La Pensée*, Paris, 1976, No. 185, pp. 69-81.

from the communal to private-ownership production", noted the late Abdelaziz Belal, a prominent Moroccan Marxist social scientist.³

In my view attention is merited by the concept of the underdeveloped nature of the Maghrib and the existence of various structures there, as well as in the Afro-Asian world as a whole, set forth by Belal, who suggested that these phenomena be viewed in the overall context of the enslavement by imperialism of colonies and later of the politically independent states which emerged out of them. "Being a projection of international monopoly capital", he wrote in 1980, "the capitalist mode of production subordinated all the former modes of production... having distorted them and forced them to function in its interests to such an extent that now this combination of the deformed structures of the past and the dominant structures of the present form, in their entire dialectical fulness, a social complex differing qualitatively both from the preceding pre-capitalist formations and the developed capitalist formation".⁴

Of course, the definition of national capitalism in the Afro-Asian world solely as a "projection" of international monopoly capital is open to debate.

³ A. Belal, *Développement et facteurs non-économiques*, Rabat, 1980, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

This, however, is not the main point. What is important is that the "deformed structures of the past", that is, the traditional structures, being a part of a single "social complex", are inextricably connected with it. Thus, as they gradually overcome these outdated structures, the countries of the East inevitably encounter the resistance of the entire cunningly-woven net of neocolonialism. At the same time every new success along this road undermines, erodes and weakens one of the important mainstays of the subordination of developing countries by international monopolies and imperialist powers.

But to overcome traditional structures means not just to ferret out the economic and social backwardness that is perpetuated by the colonialists in their sellish aims. The problem is much greater and much more complex. It affects such old and established traditions as tribal, communal, ethnical, confessional and regional ties. The difficulty of overcoming them lies not only in their long-established nature and ability to adjust to the mechanism of any pre-socialist formation, but also in the fact that they are part of the heritage of which very many inhabitants of the Maghrib are proud, viewing it as an inseparable part of their history, spiritual and national life. And here both science and socio-political practice run up against a paradox: the traditional structures in the Maghrib of today are a big impediment to the progress of the very same national and spiritual life—the structures which are invoked to justify their preservation.

Needless to say, the nature, rates and results of the above-mentioned transformations differ considerably from country to country, depending directly not only on the share of the traditional structures in specific cases but also on the amount of pressure put by imperialism and neocolonialism on the given country, as well as on the socio-political regime, the latter's ability to resist pressure by external and internal reaction, and to find the most rational ways and methods for advancement.

The post-colonial development of the Maghrib countries—Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco—offers many diverse and instructive examples of overcoming economic backwardness and social archaisms that impede economic, social and cultural progress.



Tunisia was the first country in the region to tackle this formidable task. The pointedly secular orientation of the state in the first years after the proclamation of independence (1956),

the absence of support for the ruling party by the clergy (rather even covert or overt opposition on its part) determined the commencement of transformations with the so-called "dethoecratization"—a whole series of measures to liquidate the religious nature of the courts of law, educational establishments, the transformation of family legislation and also the nationalisation of *habous*—the property of Moslem institutions.

Before independence the lands of *habous* (1.6 million hectares) accounted for nearly a quarter of all farmland in the country. They were inalienable and were usually rented out on exorbitant terms. By the force of laws adopted on May 31, 1956 and July 18, 1957 a smaller part of these lands was made public property and state farms were set up on them, while the greater part was sold out to private individuals, including lease-holders, or shared between the founders of the *habous* and their heirs. All these lands could be freely bought or sold, and were drawn into the economic network. Thus a considerable number of rural owners (both founders and former lease-holders) were led from feudalism to capitalism almost overnight.

The laws of August 5 and 17, 1957 dealt a strong blow to the feudal-compradore elements, for they provided for the confiscation of the property (including the landed estates) of all members of the family of the overthrown Bey and also of some 200 big feudals, compradores and officials of the colonial period. These laws and the subsequent court actions nipped off the top of the feudal class and the related strata of officials and businessmen, who in most instances were also landowners using semi-feudal methods of exploitation.

The communal-tribal form of landownership, encompassing about 3.1 million hectares of land which previously could not be split up and of which some two million hectares were cultivated, was abolished in September 1957. Families or individual members of the community (including representatives of the semi-nomadic tribes in the centre and south of the country) were given the opportunity to be owners of their plots. But the law was implemented slowly: by 1964 only some 2,000 families owned privately a total of 19,300 hectares. The plots were small, ranging from two to ten hectares, and for this reason could not be farmed profitably, especially in arid areas with no irrigation. As a result, many former members of the communities became ruined while the tribal upper crust bought up their plots, became richer and gradually developed into a new agrarian bourgeoisie. Despite the deci-

sion to complete the allotment of communal lands during the period of the economic development plan of 1973-1976, by the early 1980s more than a million hectares of land still had the status of collective property, known as arsh. One of the main reasons why the allotment of lands was suspended was the desire of the authorities to halt the social stratification of the countryside and to reduce, even if slightly, the pauperisation of the rural population.

The bourgeois nature of the transformations in the agrarian sector affected also the methods of nationalising land owned by foreigners. This process dragged on for seven years (1957-1964) in the course of which about a half of the land owned by foreign colonists was bought by Tunisian individuals, while the rest went to the state, which either leased it out or sold it, or used it for organising cooperatives in the countryside in 1962-1969. But cooperatives did not become widespread because of limitations imposed by the retention by the members of the cooperatives of their private ownership of the plots of land and investments made into them. At the end of 1966 the cooperatives consisted of 47,000 peasants, or less than ten per cent of all men engaged in agriculture.

Administrative bureaucracy, the absence of incentives for peasants who owned land (not more than 26,000 members actually worked hard in the cooperatives), the technocratic approach "from above" to the solution of all questions put the cooperatives in the red, while the attempt made early in 1969 to draw large homesteads into the cooperatives encountered the fierce resistance of the rural bourgeoisie which was displeased as it was with the very fact of collectivist measures. As a result, most of the cooperatives were disbanded and their lands sold to private individuals, which only further enriched the rural businessmen. Most of the peasants who had to withdraw from the cooperatives were forced to lease their plots to the village rich and went bankrupt in the course of two to three years. The accelerated stratification of the Tunisian countryside in the 1970s is indirectly confirmed by 1975 statistics, which indicate that rural population had declined by 10-20 per cent, meaning that the pauperised peasants had migrated to towns, and the share of farm labourers had grown (from 33 to 42 per cent in the period from 1956 to 1975).

Thus both the splitting up of communal lands and cooperation served for the traditional peasantry as a sort of means of "social remoulding", of transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist relations.

Along with the transformation of traditional structures there took place an offensive against the positions of foreign capital in Tunisia. It was conducted despite the pro-Western stance of the ruling upper crust who subjectively did not wish to provoke a quarrel either with the EEC or with the US, this expressing itself in the course of "economic liberalism" up to the early 1960s. But the requirements of decolonising the economy forced the Tunisian authorities to seriously revamp all the components of the "social complex" inherited from the past: both the traditional structures and the sway of Western monopolies. The method of stage-by-stage nationalisation was applied to a number of big foreign firms. The setting up of joint-stock companies with the participation of the state became widespread, as well as the encouragement and financing by the state sector (sometimes by as much as 75 per cent) of joint-stock societies of national private capital that filled the vacuum created by the shrinking positions of foreigners. State development plans were introduced in 1960.

Though the partial denationalisation of enterprises of the state sector was started already in the mid-1960s, it was carried out in the interests of the national bourgeoisie (just as the subsequent economic policy of the 1970s) and actually performed the same task as the offensive by that sector against foreign capital: to clear the way for national private enterprise. In the context of this article it is important to emphasise that the transformation of traditional structures, even though a purely bourgeois one by its nature, and the struggle against neocolonialism turned out to be interconnected or at least parallel processes.

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This is confirmed (not so much directly as conversely) by the example of the country with the biggest burden of traditional structures in socio-economic life in the whole of Maghrib-Morocco. A programme of "moroccanising" the economy was worked out there immediately after the gaining of independence. During the fulfilment of that programme state intervention in economic activity was gradually intensified (mostly by way of customs, credit and tax policy but also by way of introducing planning) and restrictions directed against the rule of foreign capital were increased, right up to and including the nationalisation of a number of industries.

In 1956-1966 about 450,000 hectares, or about half of all land that belonged to foreigners, was turned over to lo-

cal owners and the state. But in 1957-1977 only 320,000 hectares were distributed among 22,000 peasants. This did increase somewhat the strata of rich and medium peasants but did not solve the agrarian question even partially. The bulk of the peasantry is facing even quicker ruin than before 1956, which stands out in contrast to the impressive growth of the agrarian bourgeoisie: in the years of independence the national capitalist sector in Morocco's agriculture absorbed (by way of speculation, purchase of the land of colonists and the introduction of mechanisation with the help of the state) more than 700,000 hectares and now comprises almost a million hectares belonging to some 5,000 owners.

The representatives of national private capital invested half of their wealth in agriculture and urban real estate (houses, etc.), a quarter in trade and also a mere quarter in industry and crafts. In this connection the brunt of the burden to finance economic growth was shouldered by the state sector, which accounted for more than half of all capital investments under the plan of 1968-1972 and more than 70 per cent under the plan of 1973-1977. In 1975 it controlled 65 per cent of the capital of 221 big enterprises and encouraged in every way the creation of mixed state-private enterprises with the participation of foreign and national capital. In reality the state sector became a bulwark of support and a shelter for the national bourgeoisie.

It is indicative that the incompleteness of the struggle against neocolonialism in Morocco (in 1975, for instance, banking capital in the country was owned by the state—35 per cent, foreigners—37.5 per cent and Moroccan individuals—27.5 per cent) is paralleled by the least degree of transformation of traditional structures. Hardly anything has been done about them officially, so what we are speaking about are not juridical but factual changes.

In the mid-1970s six million hectares, or according to various estimates from 40 to 46 per cent of all land, were the collective property of communities and tribes and could not be taken away from them or split up.³ This gives reason to speak about the special stability of the patriarchal-clan traditional structure in Morocco. Most of the bulk lands that have been split up (about 5 million of the 6.2 million

³ Most tribes in Morocco, especially in the mountains, are Berber, but there are also Arab tribes that in their time got land, gish, in perpetuity from the Sultan for doing military service.

hectares) were filled by sharecroppers, who were in bondage to feudals (on more than two million hectares) or by small owners who could hardly manage to do better than a subsistence economy. The latter gained very little from the agrarian reform that was conducted since 1966 and in the course of which by 1977 more than 600 cooperatives of various types, uniting up to 20,000 peasants, were formed on an area of 260,000 hectares. The small scale of the cooperative movement and the capitalist nature of the distribution of profits among members of cooperatives (most often depending on the size of the share) bear witness to the limited nature of the agrarian reform which has done little to change anything in the countryside, where traditional pre-capitalist relations are still dominant.

A number of state measures (for instance, the replacement in 1.61 of the *tartib* direct tax with indirect taxation) even actually helped slow down the disintegration of the communal-tribal structures that had taken place in the epoch of the protectorate. But despite the formal preservation and even consolidation of the former (this quite often being viewed by Moroccans as a counteraction to the attempts by colonialists to destroy the traditional heritage and national customs) their actual disintegration continues because relations inside the tribes have lost or are losing their patriarchal nature, while the communal lands, though in theory being indivisible, in practice are becoming gradually concentrated in the hands of well-to-do members of the community, mostly tribal chieftains (*kaïds*), heads of clans (*sheikhs*), the religious upper crust (*sheriffs* and *marrabuts*), and also of members of the bourgeoisie of a non-aristocratic origin (first of all those villagers whose relatives have migrated to towns and made a success of themselves either in business or government service).

This is especially true of the Soussi Berber bourgeoisie (named after the Souss region in the south of the country), which is well known even outside of Morocco and whose most influential members are from the Ida-ou-Gnidil, Amlik, Ait-Souab and Ait-Mzel tribal associations and control the wholesale and retail food trade and have great influence in the tanning and textile industries. At the same time three quarters of the local administration and a considerable part of the state apparatus and the officers' corps consist of graduates of a special college in the town of Azrou where the enrolment since the 1930s has mostly been from among representatives of the Berber aristocracy and wealthy tribesmen.

Generally speaking, the Berber problem in Morocco is much more urgent than in other countries of the Maghrib because Berbers account for a much larger part of its population (according to some data, up to 70 per cent). So it is necessary not only to overcome a sort of ethnic dualism (the Arabs and Berbers) in the course of the forming of the Moroccan nation but also the traditions of inter-tribe and inter-clan struggle that have been detected by Western researchers even inside related groups of Berbers in Morocco. On the whole the process of Arabisation of these groups, especially the Soussi and the other Berbers in the south of the country, who have long become bilingual, is gaining ground. But it is being objectively slowed down by the continued existence of vestiges of pre-capitalist relations and social ties which in a way blend with bourgeois relations or pre-bourgeois relations and impart to them, for instance to the competition among the urban bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, overtones of regionalism, ethnic or tribal strife. In this connection A. Belal noted the "socio-historical 'unpreparedness' and the maladjustment of the culture and behaviour of people to forms of life imposed by the penetration of capitalism". To illustrate this point he cites the example of a Soussi trader who, while integrating himself into the structure of urban capitalism, does not break ties with his clan which continues to a certain extent to determine his behaviour.⁸ The same is typical of the numerous Berber workers who even in the town prefer to work for a fellow Berber who periodically rotates these jobs among members of the same tribe or clan.

It can be said without exaggeration that if the ethnic particularism of Berbers does exist in Morocco (incidentally many of them resolutely deny its existence), it rests first of all on the surviving tribal, clan and patriarchal-communal ties in conditions of which a peasant or a worker regards as his "own" the feudal and bourgeoisie from among Berbers. It should also be noted that growing attention to the "Berber question" is being shown by the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO countries whose special services would not mind fanning up regional and particularistic sentiments among the Berbers of Morocco and Algeria with the aim of exerting pressure on the policy of these countries. Thus in this aspect, too, one can trace the link between neocolonialism

and traditionalism within the framework of a single socio-political complex of subjugating the young states to imperialism.

In Algeria, where the traditional structures have been transformed more radically as compared to the two other Maghrib countries, the problem is somewhat different than in Morocco. Regionalism and particularist sentiments there exist only in Kabylie, where substantial vestiges of clan ties and communal organisations remain. They are being used mostly by the Kabylie bourgeoisie to rally behind themselves their numerous clansmen scattered throughout Algeria. So any step by the government to restrict the bourgeoisie usually touches off a flareup of Kabylie regionalism, because rich Kabylie form the most powerful faction of the nations' bourgeoisie and react to any restriction of their activity as being supposedly directed against all Kabylie. A certain role is played also by intrigues by some Western powers and by the majority of Kabylie among the French-speaking intelligentsia whose role in Algeria is gradually declining with progress in Arabic education and cultural life. Needless to say, the particularists exploit also the certain acceleration of Arabisation that does sometimes appear to be neglecting the identity of Berbers. This, however, does not play a decisive role. The best evidence of this is the total absence of "Berberism" in other regions of the country with a Berber population (Aurès, Dahra, Mzab, Ouargla) where there is no "own" bourgeoisie.

Emigration plays a very substantial role in the evolution of the Berber problem in the Maghrib countries. By the early 1980s more than 1.6 million people from the Maghrib were living in West European countries, mostly in France (782,000 Algerians, 400,000 Moroccans, 184,000 Tunisians), as well as in Belgium, Holland and West Germany.⁹ Berbers account for more than half (sometimes for up to 80 per cent) of the emigre Algerians and Moroccans. These are mostly migrant workers who are granted the possibility to work abroad, acquire a certain level of skills and feed their families, who remain at home, by sending them money. They learn a lot from the West European proletariat in terms of vocational training, world outlook, principles of organisation and solidarity. For most of them departure from their home coun-

* A. Belal, *Op. cit.*, p. 85

¹ In addition, there were some 50,000 Moroccans in Spain, 5,000 in Scandinavia and some 20,000 in Libya and the Persian Gulf countries.

tries is a means of getting away from the patriarchal-communal and feudal-clan world, and becoming a part of the life, traditions and social level of the working class in countries of developed capitalism. But a part of the emigres—students and merchants—on returning home swell the ranks of the pro-Western intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie. Quite often, by saving money while abroad, the erstwhile peasants turn into petty-bourgeois when they return home. It is among this part of the emigres who usually retain contacts with their clan or tribe that particularist tendencies and the associated pro-Western sentiments are most widespread.⁸

Thus emigration is not only a natural channel for transition from traditional social relations to modern ones, but also in many respects a means of orienting this transition in the bourgeois direction.

The greatest efforts to prevent such an orientation have been taken in Algeria. It is indicative that in that country the social transformations affected first of all not the traditional but capitalist structures: the lands of colonists and enterprises abandoned by Europeans were handed over to the self-governing sector which in 1964 comprised 2,300 farms with 2.7 million hectares of the best lands (2.1 million hectares by 1980), and also about 1,000 industrial and trade enterprises, controlling up to 20 per cent of total production. The state sector began growing through the nationalisation of industry and banks and increased its control over the economy in the course of the fulfilment of the development plans of 1967-1969, 1970-1973 and 1974-1977. But the industrialisation launched by the state encountered an obstacle in the form of the traditional structures.

The semi-subsistence type of farms in the traditional sector greatly limited the possibilities of industrialisation and determined the extremely low level of consumption and consequently of the marketing of manufactured goods. The poverty which affects the majority (up to 70 per cent) of the traditional peasantry further narrowed the rural market and oriented it at the output of cottage industries. The attempts to transform the sphere of crafts and mass retail trade (small-commodity and petty-capitalist by its essence) yielded little: the 27 cooperatives of

* At the same time, the national processes in all Maghrib countries, the dominant patriotism in them, leave such sentiments no more chances of success whatsoever.

craftsmen which were formed as far back as 1963 were not production cooperatives and limited themselves to vocational training and control.⁹ Measures to impart a state character to trade were abolished in 1966. In the 1970s crafts were gradually replaced by small enterprises of the modern type (mostly private ones) while part of domestic trade and all foreign trade were placed under state control. The village remained the main basis of traditional structures and various plans of transforming it have been drawn up since 1963.

The agrarian revolution in Algeria had been seething for a long time. Having begun in 1972 it has gone through three stages. A "fund of the agrarian revolution" was formed at the first stage out of state and communal lands and also lands of *habuses*. During the second stage (from July 1973) the lands of absentee (as a rule landowners, officials and merchants who lived in towns) and also of some big landowners were included in the fund. By early 1981 the fund consisted of a total of 1.4 million hectares of cultivated land and also 1.1 million hectares of land planted with fig palms. Ninety-eight per cent of this fund was distributed among 100,400 peasants with no or little land who were united in 6,000 cooperatives, including up to 5,000 production ones. The members of the cooperatives include many former sharecroppers, seasonal labourers and other village poor who are genuinely interested in the success of cooperatives.

Delays, however, have been encountered in fulfilling the third stage of the reform—the cooperation of livestock breeders (by the end of the 1970s there were only a few such cooperatives). But it is exactly among them that feudal-patriarchal tribal structures are most widespread in Algeria.¹⁰

The reform actually left untouched modern farms either, while many big landowners survived it without any tangible loss partly by selling off surplus land and partly by distributing it among relatives.

Along with cooperatives there are 703 centres in the country (one in each commune) for providing assistance to

* They were capitalist in essence. The weavers' cooperative in Tlemsen, for example, had 120 shareholders and 600 hired workers.

¹⁰ In all, there are 45,000 livestock-breeders in Algeria among whom, according to 1975 statistics, 4,000 owned two million out of 4.5 million head of livestock.

those individual peasants who need machinery, seeds and credits. This attention given to the poor and medium peasants technically and economically facilitates the overall modernisation of the countryside and the liquidation of social archaisms in it.

The reform did not destroy the private sector in the countryside but did eliminate various forms of pre-capitalist exploitation, among them the fettering share-cropping and the sway of feudal and semi-feudal elements who previously used to pocket from 150 to 200 million dinars in the form of rent annually paid to them by peasants with no or little land. We can divine by the fact that by the early 1970s 500,000 of the 1,088,000 families in the Algerian countryside did not own any land while 310,000 owned very little land that the agrarian reform has taken the majority of the Algerian peasantry out of the framework of feudal or semi-feudal relations.

Thus the Maghrib countries are using different means to overcome or transform the traditional archaic structures and social ties. The results achieved by them in this field vary, in many ways being determined by the dissimilar level of the social, economic, cultural and political development of each country. At the same time, whether we are speaking of the course at a long-term coexistence of pre-capita-

list and capitalist structures within the framework of the deformed "social complex" that is being stubbornly imposed by neocolonialism or of the striving for total liberation from the entire social archaism with the aim of making easier further struggle against imperialism and one's "own" capitalism, the process of overcoming traditional structures in Maghrib countries (evidently, just as in many other Asian and African countries) has much that is in common. This is the gradual disintegration of these structures which is speeded up or slowed down by the government's policy. This is the simultaneous offensive against the positions of foreign capital and neocolonialism which on the whole not only supplements but also makes possible the transformation of traditional relations and ties between people. This is the strengthening of the state sector made inevitable by this policy and the decisive role of the state in the transformation of archaic structures. Last but not least, this is the socialisation—to various extents depending on concrete conditions and tasks—of the means of production and the participation in it (by way of cooperation) of the former bearers of traditional relations. The sum total of these factors simply cannot fail to have a revolutionising impact on the social situation. ■

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SOVIET GEOLOGICAL RESEARCH, MINERAL PROSPECTING IN AFRICA, ASIA

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[Article by Leonid Goldenberg, doctor of historical sciences, and Yuriy Namestnikov, candidate of geological and mineralogical sciences: "Africa: Maps of Underground Treasures (The Contribution of Soviet Geologists to the Exploration of Asia and Africa)"]

[Text]

Speaking of the place of Africa in the contemporary world, the capitalist press often uses the expression, "geological paradise", having in view the resources of its entrails, which have been far from completely explored. The sophisticated advocates of imperialism and neocolonialism have been stubbornly imposing on the world public opinion—especially in the developing countries—a geopolitical myth of sorts about "God's injustice", i. e., unfair distribution of mineral and raw-material resources on the planet: God Almighty has allegedly placed the major resources in the areas inhabited presently by Africans, Asians and Latin Americans, while He "endowed" the developed countries of Western Europe and the US with industrial progress.

Hence, this warrants the conclusion that minerals and raw materials of the developing world should fuel the industrial potential of the West, which should decide where, how and in what quantities it can take these resources, how to dispose of them, and how to pay for them, depending on the political relations with this or that country, a "raw-material donor".

Without going into details, it should be pointed out that Africa ranks first in the world in production of diamonds, gold, platinoids, cobalt, manganese, chrome, and vanadium, and second in the extraction of copper, bauxites and tin. Twenty per cent of the largest mines and quarries are located in Africa, accounting for 90 per cent of the production of solid minerals (except coal) in the capitalist and the

developing countries. According to expert estimates, the entrails of the "black continent", which have not been explored enough, harbour undiscovered deposits of lead, zinc, vanadium, antimony, tin, mercury, and so on.

When a great number of states won national independence in recent decades, their main task has been to find a way to use, in a most beneficial and rational manner, their mineral and raw material resources. If solved, this will enable them to become economically independent and improve their standard of living.

Hence, conflicts of interests between the genuine masters of these deposits and those who are trying to act uncontrollably and on their own will in the "geological paradise". The latter resort to blackmail, deceit and plunderous "agreements" to export fabulous riches (so vital for the Western capitalist world), practically for nothing, paying for them just an insignificant share of their actual cost.

The majority of the developing states are naturally against the existing situation, because the exports of raw materials, which are in the hands and under control of national governments, is today the most important means for gradually improving the living standards in the young states.

Year in, year out, the urge of African peoples to know more about their natural resources is intensifying. It is no secret that Western countries, whose specialists have been studying the geology of Africa, not always and sometimes incompletely inform the legitimate masters of African land about the data they have obtained. It was only after independence that the OAU member-states put this vital question on the agenda of their economic development. The first steps have been made to organise scientific research in that field.

In 1973 many African countries adopted the African Strategy of Development which provides, among other things, for the expansion of all existing mining enterprises; the search for new mineral deposits; the exploration and survey of available resources; Africa's active participation in the development of mineral resources; and cooperation of neighbouring countries in geology and mining.

Of special interest for the implementation of the African Strategy of Development are the academic research works which sum up the exploration of the continent's entrails. The comprehensive approach to the evaluation of mineral resources, worked out in the USSR, is in full conformity with these needs.

The USSR boasts major achievements in providing theoretical and methodological approach to the summing up of geological information related to vast areas of land and oceans, individual continents

and the world as a whole. Making such generalisations at a regional scale involves considerable difficulties and is an extremely complicated task which can be attained only in the presence of a scientifically-substantiated concept permitting to form a model of the geological structure and history of the Earth. Moreover, this model should take into account the diversity of the geological peculiarities found in various areas of the world. Soviet geologists have come up with such concepts, and regional maps should be mentioned among the most significant generalising research efforts in recent years.

The comprehensive approach, developed and put into use in the USSR, runs counter to the capitalist practice of traditional investors extracting maximum profits, while spending minimum sums for the perspective. For example, it is common knowledge that profit rate of the transnationals in Africa reaches 65 per cent (the average world figure being 11.3 per cent). As has already been pointed out, the capitalist investors are not interested in supplying the developing countries with objective information about their mineral resources. It is for this reason that the problem of determining the state of mineral resources is among the most urgent.

It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union has always regarded as its internationalist duty the consolidation of the developing countries' economic potential. This task is attained through bilateral scientific and technological cooperation in various spheres, which is hinged on terms that are most acceptable for the young states. This cooperation is carried out on the basis of intergovernmental agreements, with the public sector being granted the most advantages. At present the USSR renders scientific and technological assistance in geological surveys to about 25 developing countries, the majority of which are in Africa and Asia. The USSR, where geological science has attained a high level, provides its aid in the form of equipment deliveries, the sending of Soviet specialists, training of skilled local geologists and the holding of various seminars and symposia, often at the request of the Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission. With Soviet assistance the developing countries are receiving more knowledge about the mineral resources of their respective countries, prospect for mineral deposits and develop them on the basis of the latest achievements in geological science.

That is why Soviet geologists' work to draw regional maps of the whole of Africa and some areas of Asia has become a highly important aspect of Soviet cooperation with the developing countries in recent years.

Large-scale scientific studies have been completed on orders of the UN. The Research Institute of the Ministry of Geology of the USSR, which deals with geological problems of foreign countries, has compiled maps for Africa. The Institute, staffed by skilled specialists in various areas of the geological science has compiled original cartographic documents in French and English for a broad use in African countries. These documents comprise a series of maps—a geological map, mineral resources map, and a map indicating the presence of oil and gas with detailed explanatory notes attached to them.

The combined maps and monographic descriptions of large regions have been compiled with consideration given to the analysis and generalisation of huge geological material. They are of great scientific and applied importance.

The compilation of a geological map of Africa that included the geological structure of the Arabian Peninsula involved the use of all previously published maps of Africa and of individual countries, as well as the works of international symposia and monographic descriptions, numerous magazine articles, and observations by Soviet geologists. Over a number of years specialists from the Institute charted the geological features of the territories of Algeria, Egypt, Syria, the Sudan, Guinea, Mali, and Tanzania. As experts they visited Benin, Madagascar, Niger and many other African countries. The Soviet scientists' work to compile the map of Africa demonstrated the fruitful nature of using the experience accumulated by Soviet geologists, particularly in composing geological maps of continents and large regions.

In 1982, Soviet specialists published the **Map of Mineral Resources of Africa and Arabia**. For the first time comprising such a vast region of a total area of about 35 million square kilometres, it reflects in a most comprehensive way the distribution of almost 5,000 deposits and ore shows of 79 types of mineral raw materials and comments on the geological situation, genesis and economic importance. The map covers the territories of 65 states.

It continues the traditions of Soviet geological science. The compiling of large-scale combined documents is among the achievements of the latter. The map is based on the analysis and generalisation of original materials found in the USSR, including combined maps, scientific publications, and information from state-owned enterprises of various countries. Apart from that, a use was made of the data on mineral resources and metallogeny supplied by national geological services. The genetic typification of the deposits was carried out on the basis of scientific classifications, developed in the USSR, and

adapted to the conditions prevailing in Africa and Arabia. The team of authors had to overcome tangible difficulties resulting from the incomplete nature of the data on the mineralogy of Africa and Arabia, available to world science.

The map not only marks the deposits and ore shows of mineral raw materials, but also contains a wealth of material for predicting the zones of their possible development. It reflects an all-out attempt at making an inventory of the mineral resources of Africa at the current level of knowledge. It also shows the main regularities in their distribution and makes geologic and economic estimate of the most important types of mineral raw materials.

The regularities in the distribution of oil and gas fields in Africa found their reflection in a map which came off the press in 1981. The latter contains practically the sum total of material published in many countries during the past ten to fifteen years. It marks the situation of the eight oil-and-gas bearing provinces, including 42 oil-and-gas bearing basins. The explanatory notes contain a detailed characterisation of the oil-and-gas bearing basins, of the availability of oil and gas resources in each basin, and a detailed description of 300 oil and gas fields.

The map was donated to the UN Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa in 1983. This large-scale work was the last in a series of maps which the commission ordered Soviet geologists to compile.

The Map of Oil and Gas Resources and Major Petroleum Industry Units Distribution in the Developing Countries of the ESCAP Region was also prepared by Soviet scientists. It covers the territory of the activities of the UN Economic and Social Commission for the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Region (ESCAP)¹.

The map marked the distribution of 88 oil-and-gas bearing basins and about 800 oil and gas fields, the probable oil and gas areas, the state of the mineral- and raw-material base of the oil-and-gas industry in the developing member-countries of the ESCAP, as well as other data. This information provides a notion not only of the state and development possibilities of the oil-and-gas producing and refining industries in the developing countries of the ESCAP region, but also makes it possible to

¹ The ESCAP Region includes Iran, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Butan, Sri Lanka, the Maldives Republic, Burma, Thailand, Kampuchea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, the Philippines, Papua-New Guinea, the New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga and some other island states of Oceania (Norfolk, Nauru and others).

choose the right methods for conducting geological prospecting for oil and gas and help raise their effectiveness.

The surface of the Earth almost everywhere consists of the Quarternary deposits. The character of their distribution and origin is of great practical importance in engineering, geological, hydro-geological and soil works, as well as for solving the problems linked with housing construction, industrial, road and hydro-technical building, and also with the advanced planning of exploration for different types of mineral resources. The study of the Quarternary deposits on the territory of Asian countries has been carried out for many years in the course of the general geographic and geological works.

However, despite the achievements made in that field, the cartographic generalisation of the data on the Quarternary geology of the greater part of Asia outside the USSR has not yet been done. There were practically no specialised maps of Quarternary deposits for that huge territory, save for those of Syria and the Mongolian People's Republic, compiled by Soviet specialists, and also a general outline of China. Within the framework of compiling a single map of Quarternary deposits of Eurasia, preliminary draft of that map was prepared by the specialists of the abovementioned Soviet Institute together with colleagues from Leningrad. A map of Quarternary deposits of the ESCAP countries was put out in a separate edition in 1982. Being the first map of this content for the given territory, it is of undoubted scientific and practical significance. The patterns reflected on the map have been discovered by means of studying numerous geological, geographic and cartographic sources.

It is common knowledge that underground waters are highly important for human life and the development of economies of all countries in the world. As for Africa, one third of whose territory has no surface run-off on account of irregular precipitation and is a desert, the underground waters are acquiring exceptional significance for the economy.

The studies conducted by Soviet specialists on the underground waters of individual countries and of the globe at large have already yielded practical results: *Hydrogeology of Asia* has been published, followed by *Hydrogeology of Africa*, the second book in the series, which was prepared at the urging of the United Nations and published in English. Soon it will be published in French. This is the first summary of facts and figures concerning Africa's underground waters, which were studied inadequately and unevenly prior to that work. The book, the first of its kind for Africa, examines a broad range of

problems relating to the formation and patterns of the spread of underground waters there. It constitutes a fundamental contribution to the regional hydrogeology of the Earth and will exert influence on broader hydrogeological exploration in the developing countries of Africa, helping to plan such studies for the future.

Taking into account the achievements of geological science in the USSR, the UN Economic Commission Secretariat requested the USSR to hold regular regional seminars for specialists from Africa, Asia and the Pacific, which are paid for by Soviet contributions to the UN Fund of Technical Aid. There took place two seminars devoted to the modern methods of exploration of mineral resources on the territory of African and Asian countries and one seminar on the problems of developing water resources of the arid zone for specialists from African countries. African and Asian specialists who attended the seminars noted that the lectures were interesting, original and of practical significance, and that the choice of objects for study was quite happy.

The Declaration passed by African delegates at the closure of the Tashkent Seminar read in part: "We express our warm gratitude to the government of the Soviet Union, and we are returning home with the feeling that the USSR is a sincere ally of the peoples which have embarked on the road of development in general and of the peoples of Africa in particular."

The major works of Soviet geologists completed in recent years for the territories of Africa and Asia are of a worldwide scientific significance. No doubt they will serve as a weighty contribution to the study of Africa and Asia, and will promote the effectiveness of geological survey for various types of mineral resources and help strengthening the economic potential of the developing countries of Asia and Africa. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

TIES BETWEEN JAPANESE RULING PARTY, ORGANIZED CRIME ALLEGED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 84 pp 39-41

[Article by Vladimir Tsvetov under the rubric "Countries, Peoples, Times":
"Japan: MP's, Policemen and Thieves"]

[Text]

In Tokyo's fashionable district of Roppongi, in a grand multi-story building next door to the US and Swedish Embassies, one day a plaque appeared on the door of a flat, reading in Japanese and English, 'The Society of Support for Shigemasa Kamoda'. In keeping with the law, the society duly registered with the Ministry of Local Self-Government as an organisation of assistance to a candidate running for a seat in the upper chamber of the Diet. The Society's flat was turned into an office, furnished with desks, filing cabinets, armchairs and a sofa, proudly displayed the Japanese flag, tucked under glass in a frame on the wall. Telephone callers were greeted by the cooing of a girl-secretary: "Thank you for calling us. Shigemasa Kamoda's office is at your service." In short, the usual trappings of people seeking election to the Diet.

The Society of Support for Shigemasa Kamoda would not have raised the brow of the people next door, much less of the press, if not for the biography of the deputy candidate. Listed among the eight top leaders of Japan's biggest crime syndicate, Yamaguchi gumi, Shigemasa Kamoda was known to be the mastermind of 39 gangs, manned with 585 gangsters, and control 14 prefectures, having spent nine years in jail for illegal gambling business, drug trafficking and murder.

It would be amiss to think that the media raised hue and cry over the underworld's bid to join the MPs. The weekly *Shukan Sankei* only asked rhetorically: "If comedians and rock'n'roll dancers can be elected to the Diet, why can't a gangster boss aspire to take a seat in a chamber of our law-making body?". The publicist Kenji Iino, an unperturbed chronicler of all sorts of human life zigzags, just stated: "It will be no news if the 'yakuza' make it to the Diet. In 1925, for example, the 'yakuza' made up to one-third of the Diet". "Yakuza" is Japanese for gangsters. Former Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda made this sardonic remark: "Well, it wouldn't be bad to have a man of a different complexion join our circle for a change." And nothing but a hymn to the virtues of Japanese democracy was sung by the chairman of the Society of Support for Shigemasa Kamoda, gangster of Yamaguchi gumi, leader of the anti-communist Asian League, Toyoyuki Nagamoto (crime record: 36 arrests for gambling and bookmaking, a conviction for debauchery): "All is truly free in our free society. Even a 'yakuza' can take up politics and become a member of upper house.

A propaganda booklet composed by Nagamoto opened with these words: "Shigemasa Kamoda enters the world of politics with the intention to devote the rest of his life to the fight against drug addiction—the main evil that cripples the health and destinies of the youth." They say, a lie is like a forest: the deeper you get into it the harder it is to get out of it. Narcotics accounted for 60 per cent of Yamaguchi gumi's profits and that is why Nagamoto had no intention of getting out of a forest of lies. "I decided to take up politics," continued the booklet, citing Kamoda himself, "in order to defend the free world, to make our society tranquil, cheerful and prospering."

At that point the author of the booklet would have done well to recall such a detail of the history of the crime syndicate as the "Osaka war" in the course of which Yamaguchi gumi made short shrift of a rival gangster organisation, Meiyu kai. The weapon of destruction was a heavy dump truck, driven by Kamoda into Meiyu kai arcades with game machines and cafes, smashing whatever and whoever stood in the way. It was the "Osaka war" that earned Kamoda his first prison term. These facts of Kamoda's biography were skipped by the booklet, but they must have been in Nagamoto's mind when he wound up his hymn to the gangster in this way: "Shigemasa Kamoda is the best man to lead Japan in the 1980s."

Kamoda's bid for Japan's leadership was cut short by police interference. On June 14, 1982, a sudden swoop by 850 policemen on the Yamaguchi gumi property caught 53 mobsters red-handed. They were subsequently charged with gambling, book-making and blackmail. Another 52 "yakuza" dodged the police snare and went underground. Shigemasa Kamoda was among the latter. For one to be at a time on a police "wanted persons" list and on a ballot for the Diet is something bourgeois democracy in Japan has yet to grow to. It surely will. "Take Messrs. MPs to a bath and strip them", suggested a Sumiyoshi rengo gangster in a magazine interview. "If not every second than surely every third MP will be seen tattooed in colour. And among deputies of prefecture assemblies every second is tattooed in this manner". Some "yakuza", in accordance with a custom surviving from medieval times, are tattooed from neck to ankles.

Koichi Hamada, an MP, head of the LDP mass movement department, had his back and chest adorned with a dragon in colour, tattooed in the syndicate Inagawa kai. This happened in 1953 when the would-be LDP leader learned lessons of gangster politics and card game tricks as a "sanshita"—a budding "yakuza". Hamada did not stay too long on the bottom rung of the gangster ladder, for he had already to his credit 12 months of jail for theft, blackmail and attempted murder. Still a "sanshita", he took a job with Yoshio Kodama, a class "A" war criminal and political tycoon who used to make and break Japanese cabinets until charged with bribery in the American Lockheed aircraft corporation scandal.

In three years as secretary to the king of Japanese behind-the-scene politics, Hamada complemented his "yakuza" instincts with a political corruption know-how necessary for a conservative leader. With Kodama's help and money he first won a seat in a prefecture assembly, then in the Diet. During the next elections to the Diet he spent a record sum on bribing the electorate. Police handcuffed 329 henchmen of Hamada, while the top swindler, in addition to being the Diet's Deputy Chief of the National Defence Board and Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, was made head of the department in charge of organising parliamentary elections. LDP wire-pullers seemed to have taken a liking to the smart swindler and wanted to use his tricks for the benefit of the whole party.

However, Hamada's gangster habits proved his undoing. In the spring of 1980, in the company of other "yakuza", he went to Las Vegas, USA, and in one shot lost \$1.5 million in a casino. The card-game debts of the candidate Prime Minister—and the LDP made no secret of it—were covered by

money magnate Kenji Osano, later a co-defendant with Kodama in the Lockheed case, but the scandal spilled out onto TV screens and newspaper pages.

Even though Hamada left the party and the Diet, his departure did not bring down the percentage of tattooed MPs. A "yakuza's" observation that every third MP has a gangster mark remains correct.

The Society of Support for Shuji Kurauchi held a reception in the city of Fukuoka, with invitation card at 20,000 yen each. That is a legal way to raise funds for costly election campaigns. The tickets, signed by the LDP chairman and Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, the chairman of the party's political council Rokusuke Tanaka, the governor of the Fukuoka prefecture and presidents of major companies, were bought by three thousand guests. All would have been nice and decent if not for a "trifle": two thousand tickets, worth 40 million yen, were sold by the gangs Kudo Kai and Kusano ikka of the Yamaguchi gumi syndicate. The buyers were owners of cafes, barrooms, "pink saloons" and "Turkish baths" (euphemisms for brothels), i. e., traditional tributaries of gangsters.

The "yakuza" are light years from philanthropy but they honour the custom of "giri" with its sense of gratitude, or, to put it simply, they are keen to observe the rule "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." When a member of Yamaguchi gumi was charged with murder, deputy Shuji Kurauchi, together with former Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi and former Minister of Education Umekichi Nakamura, paroled the criminal and had him released on bail. There was one more reason for the "yakuzas'" warm feelings for the conservative politician. During the election he incurred a 20 million-yen debt to the gangsters, for his own and party funds were not enough for the election campaign. Having sold the invitation tickets, the "yakuza" got back their money and added some to the MP's fund.

From 1980 to 1982, the Labour Minister Akira Ono received through his secretary from Yamaguchi gumi 100 million yen by way of "political donations". In return the minister consulted the syndicate on questions of law, whose stock, as one can guess, is never deplete with the "yakuza".

In July 1981 Yamaguchi gumi by force of arms—one person dead, three wounded—ousted Inagawa kai from the industry producing video game machines. Henceforth the syndicate charged the producers 20 thousand yen for each new video machine. For better control of output Yamaguchi gumi drove the producers into a national association. To make extortion look respectable the syndicate proposed the post of counselor in the association to Masahara Gotoda, head of the National Police Board. After

working in the video machine business, Gotoda entered the ruling cabinet.

It happens, though rarely, that the gangsters feel the conservatives rubbed them the wrong way. At a rally in Kyoto, a "yakuza", knife in hand, attacked Yokei Kono, who had left the LDP to protest corruption in its ranks. "I wanted to kill Kono because he nearly split the LDP," said the gangster, revealing a moving concern for the stability of the existing political set up. But for the most part the gangsters are hand in glove with the conservatives.

As a matter of fact, various Yamaguchi gumi celebrations and ceremonies, like weddings of offspring of the bosses or laying the cornerstone of a mansion, were invariably attended by LDP functionaries: MPs, party leaders and ministers. When police arrived to arrest on a murder charge the boss of the Seiryoku kai gang, incorporated in Yamaguchi gumi, they saw in the gangster's office a framed photo on the wall, showing the murderer clinking wine glasses with former Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira. Beside it, also in a frame, was displayed a piece of verse handwritten by another Prime Minister—Eisaku Sato. Seeing the policemen's surprise, the "yakuza" proudly offered an explanation: "We are united by common ideas and common principles."

Perhaps thanks to this community, 969 gangsters in 1981 got 1.7 million yen each from the Ministry of Public Health and Social Security. The payment was made within the programme of assistance to people disabled by injury, illness or old age. Did the government decide to compensate the "yakuza" disabled in shootings and knife fights?

Even more grotesque was the news the Japanese public learned on the eve of 1980, which not only made them laugh but also wonder: who are the rulers in Japan? It turned out the gangsters had fleeced to the tune of 3.9 million yen the residence of the Prime Minister. They had intimidated the manager of the residence and made him buy, say, detergents at nine times the shop price.

"We hear you've got a four-year-old son. We understand you are very fond of him...", said the "yakuza" meaningfully to the manager of the Ministry of Communication, and the man overpaid the gangsters 28 million yen for stationary and detergents. All in all, in 1977-1978, the Prime Minister's residence, the Ministry of Communication, the Ministry of Transport, government agencies and even the National Defence Board let the gangsters rob them of a thousand million yen.

Where are the police? one wonders. The same way conservative MPs and the very "yakuza" are—the way of personal gain. In other words, po-

lice are taking bribes, which provide a great source of enrichment, considering the size of the underworld in the country.

The police chief of the city of Himeji, in exchange for a barroom license, took from the gangsters a diamond ring, worth over one million yen, and a sculptured tiger, evaluated later by investigation experts at several hundred thousand yen—the policeman was said to be a great lover of art.

The owner of an underground gambling den paid 2.5 million yen to a Minami (Osaka) police-station sleuth for a tip-off of a coming police raid against gambling business. At another police-station in Osaka—Sonezaki—bribes were taken from the owner of "pink saloons" for tip-offs on operations against prostitution. The gangster had already served a jail sentence for violating the law on prostitution and kept "pink saloons" without a proper license.

In the city of Futo policemen of a local prison fed off the food parcels coming to the imprisoned gangsters. The parcels contained whiskey, beer, cigarettes, chocolates and even narcotics. Having halved each parcel, the policemen took the rest to the prison cells. Both sides were satisfied but the media nosed out the alcoholic-chocolate link-up between police and the "yakuza" and a scandal broke out. The chief of the prison guard summoned a gangster from a cell for questioning. The "yakuza" was so incensed—was half a parcel not enough?—that he broke the policeman's head with a beer can.

In March 1983, the Osaka county court handed down a sentence of three years in jail to police officer Takahira Kyota who was on the payroll of gangsters as an informer, having received from them 13.5 million yen for his services. Another four officers were under investigation on a similar charge. At Kyota's trial his lawyer pleaded for clemency to his client on the ground that the latter was small fry in a sea of corruption affecting Osaka police. "My defendant abused his post only to a small degree," appealed the lawyer to the judges. "Kyota's superiors," continued the lawyer, shaking a bunch of evidence, "did so to a much greater extent!" The court took the lawyer's words into consideration and passed the following decision: "The senior police officers made Kyota and other junior officers scapegoats, thus themselves escaping responsibility."

"You naughty boys!" gasped members of the National Commission on Public Security, the chief body supervising police and comprised of people closely connected with the Liberal Democratic Party. As a result, 120 senior police officers, including the chief of the Osaka Police Board and the Inspector-General of the National Police Board suffered

"severe" punishment—oral reprimands, written reprimands and warnings; 109 rank-and-file "naughty boys" were punished with temporary cuts in salaries, but not as big as the sums they received from the "yakuza".

Police authorities on the spot were instructed by the National Commission to raise the level of education work with the personnel. The first to respond was the police board of the Saitama prefecture, whose 130-page **Policeman's Ethics Code** contained truly stoic instructions: don't take money from the "yakuza" even as loans, pay your bills yourself in bars and restaurants, abstain from intimate relations with married women, widows and prostitutes, speak to people in normal language, not gangster jargon. The prefecture police board brought out 10,000 copies of the **Code**, another 10,000 were printed by the "yakuza". Said they: "Police extortion has become exorbitant. We hope the **Code** will make them more modest."

MPs policemen and thieves... Their behaviour mirrors the essence of government whose indissoluble links with business—both legal and illegal—has earned it the nickname "Japan Inc". ■

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INTERNATIONAL

EMIGRATION OF TRAINED PERSONNEL FROM THIRD WORLD TO WEST HIT

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 84 pp 42-43

[Article by Vadim Sokolinskiy, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "An Economist's Rostrum": "The 'Brain Drain' from Developing Countries: Causes and Effects"]

[Text]

The migration of specialists from the newly-free countries to the West, a new phenomenon in the economic relations between the industrialised capitalist and developing states, has been going on for the last fifteen years. History has witnessed migration of highly-skilled workers from one country or continent to another, but in the past this process involved mainly the industrialised capitalist states. The US is now the most vivid example of current changes in the pattern of migration. The flow of immigrants into that country traditionally consisted of those hailing from Western Europe. From the mid-1960s onward, however, representatives of the young countries began to comprise the majority: in the late 1970s they accounted for 70 to 80 per cent of the entire horde of specialists entering the US.

The "brain drain" from the developing to the industrialised capitalist states bears witness to the presence of fundamental shifts in the capitalist economic system. At present, the position of the young states in the reproduction process changes greatly. They are being actively dragged by the industrialised states into the orbit of capitalist relations of production, the latter giving the emergent industrialisation the slant profitable to them.

The process of industrial and social development, ushering in a new stage in the life of newly-free states, has spawned new social requirements, foremost of which is a higher educational level. The problem of training national personnel, of staffing the emergent national systems of mana-

gement, education, public health service and industrial production has become acute.

But the training of national personnel is not so cheap. In most cases, young states, unable to solve the problem by themselves, enlist large foreign funds, some of them coming as "aid" from the industrialised capitalist states, in most cases through international agencies. Money granted by the West to the young nations to develop their higher education systems is not philanthropy at all, but a way capitalist states adapt themselves to new conditions. It is, primarily, a concession to the demand of newly-free states to help them overcome their economic backwardness. Besides, by taking part in organising the system of higher education in the developing world, the capitalist states implant more deeply their bourgeois ideology into the mentality of those countries. Finally, there are pragmatic reasons: the consolidated production and cooperation ties (on the basis of direct capital investment), the extended transfer of certain industries to the periphery of world capitalist economy—all this requires that specialists in both groups of countries have the same level of training.

Capitalist states employ two main ways to train specialists—by giving aid to the local systems of education (i. e., sending teachers and lecturers, research equipment and money to the developing world) and by accepting young people from those countries to Western educational establishments. In both cases future specialists are indoctrinated in the spirit of bour-

geois ideology, its material and spiritual values. In conditions of developing countries this is done via foreign teachers and lecturers, and via textbooks purchased from the West. The opportunities to brainwash the students, however, are much greater when they are taught in the capitalist countries, where the entire atmosphere of the "consumer society" influences them.

During the years of their training students from the newly-free countries get used to a different standard of living and gradually develop a new "pattern" of needs. There appears a wide gap between their new requirements prompted by the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and the opportunities their native countries can offer.

Simultaneously Western educational systems do their best to erase from their souls the numerous traditional ethical values typical of the people from the developing world, such as their love for native land. As a result, part of the university and college graduates never return home. A desire to secure for themselves a standard of living meeting their new needs, and the higher wages paid to the skilled workers are the main reasons for these specialists to stay in the capitalist states.

There is another reason: a desire to supplement the income of the family which stayed at home by remittances from abroad. Despite the fact that specialists from developing countries get highly-paid jobs in the industrialised capitalist states far from often, in any way their wages there are undoubtedly much higher than back at home.

Researchers have found that a certain part of remittances is sent to newly-free countries by specialists who do not plan to stay for good in the capitalist state they were studying in. They stay there for a few years to earn the money on which they could live decently in future.

The difficulty of finding jobs at home is among the serious reasons for the outflow of specialists from the developing countries. A paradoxical situation has emerged in many newly-free states, because training of highly-skilled personnel is not controlled, as regards its number and the structure of the education system: an army of unemployed from among highly-educated specialists has appeared, while the average educational level of the population remains low and the need for social progress is acute. There were over 75,000 unemployed degreed engineers in India in the 1960s, and about 35,000 college graduates looking for jobs in the Philippines in the 1970s.

The flow of highly-qualified specialists from the developing countries would not have been so intense had it not been for the purposeful policy of the capitalist states. For example, in many western countries the immigration legislation encourages the arrival and sojourn of specialists from the developing world. Thus, in the 1970s, the US, besides raising the immigration quota for the developing countries, allowed the above-quota entrance of people having high skills and qualifications.

This policy of the imperialist states is readily understandable: first of all, a young specialist compensates the cost of his higher education many times over, bringing in a large profit. Second, immigrants meet the demand for specialists of which there is a shortage in capitalist states. In the US in the late 1960s, for example, there was an annual shortage of 25,000 engineers. Immigrant doctors are accepted on especially favourable terms by the governments; in the 1960s and the 1970s the health services of the US, Britain and Canada deliberately employed large numbers of doctors from developing states.

Finally, there are ideological strings attached to the policies of western states as regards immigrants from the developing world. Political analysts explain the fact of migration of tens of thousands of specialists into the industrialised capitalist states by their irresistible desire to live in the "free world". Calling to witness the human rights, the freedom of migration and, in particular, of the movement and choice of residence, western ideologists do their best to ingrain in people's minds the idea that migration of specialists is natural. However, in conditions of nations and states that have shaped up over centuries, and of the real alignment of forces in the capitalist system this "natural phenomenon" leads to great losses for the young states. In the early 1960s, when migration began, and up to the end of the last decade the number of specialists who have left the developing countries was close to 400,000-500,000 persons, or 7-8 per cent of the total number of emigrés, and 33 per cent in the total inflow of skilled personnel to the US, Britain and Canada between 1961 and 1976 was from the developing world.

The specialists from the developing world who emigrate from their native countries can be divided into two groups. The first consists of the young people who have not returned home, staying to work in the country where they had been educated. The data on how many people remain behind in the West varies drastically

from one study to another, mainly because different statistical methods are used. The data differs greatly because of the time, the country of immigration and emigration. According to one survey, for example, nearly 90 per cent of the students from the young states of Asia do not return home after graduating in the West, though this index is lower for the representatives of Latin America and Africa.

The other group of emigrés is formed by specialists who underwent training at home and then left for the West. According to the official data, annually some 8 per cent of those graduating from Latin American universities leave for the US. From 10 to 20 per cent of those graduating from African educational establishments (primarily in the former French colonies) leave for France. In certain countries this number is much larger: thus 33 per cent of the graduates from the Senegalese Universities leave the country to find jobs in the West. Analysis of the migration structure shows that about 25 per cent of emigrés are engineers, 20 per cent are doctors and 10 per cent are researchers.

Emigré specialists from the newly-free countries settle, for the most part, in the US, in Western Europe and Canada.

Geographically, migration has rather strong traditions, many of which have historical explanations. Thus, migrants from Latin America mostly move to the US; Britain and France mostly "import" the trained personnel from their former colonies in Asia and Africa.

The consequences of the "brain drain" are numerous and contradictory. It implies great profits for the capitalist states, primarily because they do not spend money on the training of skilled personnel.¹ Even if specialists were educated in the capitalist states, on the money earmarked as "aid" for the newly-free nations, there is always certain indirect saving. The point is that "aid" is fictitious in such cases, since the funds advertised as "grants" for the young states, are used to educate students that later on stay to work in the capitalist states. In other words, industrialised states train a contingent of specialists needed by their own economies, at the expense of the "aid" to the developing world.

¹ The training of highly-skilled specialists is very expensive today. In the US, for example, the annual expenses amount to \$50,000-55,000 per person.

However, it is not the savings on education that bring the largest profit to the industrialised capitalist states: it comes from the work performed by qualified immigrants. A specialist with a higher education brings to society over his lifetime a profit ten times exceeding that brought by a specialist with a secondary education. In conditions of scientific knowledge becoming a real productive force, this gap has a tendency towards getting larger. Estimates show that every specialist who has come to live, say, in the US, Britain or Canada has brought in several hundred thousand dollars every year. As the abovementioned three countries received about 19,000 specialists every year so far, the average annual profit was \$3.5 billion.

The use of skilled personnel from the developing states may be qualified as a kind of sophisticated international exploitation, a logical outcome of its previous, simpler forms. The earlier non-equivalent exchange, based on plain diktat and a single appropriation of a part of other country's national value, is replaced by exploitation based on a production cooperation creating a self-reproducing mechanism of accumulating surplus value in the developing countries, and then appropriated by the capitalist states. Later on, when the upper echelon of the developing countries becomes involved in the world capitalist reproduction mechanism, prerequisites are created for the outflow of the qualified personnel, signifying a constant pumping over of the value that can, in turn, bring in considerable profits to an industrialised country for decades, instead of the previous single value.

The "brain drain" from the developing countries adversely affects their economies. The loss of specialists leads to the frustration of many national development programmes in industry and agriculture, in the sphere of education and public health care. It widens the gap between the two groups of states in their research-and-education potential, which is already sufficiently wide; while in the second half of the 1970s, 12.2 million degreed engineers were working in the capitalist countries, in the developing world, inhabited by two-thirds of the population of the world capitalist system, there were only 5.5 million of them on the job.

Greater disproportions in the structure of specialists is another negative consequence of the emigration. The trouble is that the system of higher education in the young count-

ries gives preference to humanities, to the detriment of research and technology. In Nigeria, for instance, about 63 per cent of the entire student body specialise in the social sciences, while the economic interests of the country presuppose their number not to exceed 40 per cent. The fact that research and technology specialists prevail in the emigration streams aggravate the disproportion still further.

Finally, the outflow of the educated personnel produces a psychological impact on the population of the developing world, making it easier for the imperialist states to spread their ideology.

The governments of the young states take certain economic, legal and ethical measures to decrease their losses. Experience shows, however, that these measures have so far been to no avail, nor have been strict emigration laws.

There was an idea discussed in the world economic literature on taxing both the young specialists and the countries they are leaving to. This plan, made public back in 1972, suggested that a 10 per cent income tax be paid by immigrant specialists for a term of ten years. The governments of the capitalist states, accepting young specialists, were also supposed to pay certain sums. The plan caused broad response at international forums but has not, so far, been implemented owing to extremely complicated organisational and legal problems. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON AFRICAN COOPERATIVES REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 84 pp 63-64

[Book review by N. Kosukhin, candidate of historical sciences: "Cooperative Movement in Asian and African Countries" of book by V. Maslennikov "The Cooperative Movement in Asia and Africa", Moscow, 1983, Progress Publishers, 208 pp.]

[Text]

Cooperative associations are the most popular socio-economic organisations in newly-free countries of Asia and Africa today. They are rather widespread among peasants, craftsmen and traders. In Asia alone they unite over 120 million people and in Africa they number more than 12 million. This accounting for one third of the total of 363 million cooperative members of the International Cooperative Alliance.

The analysis of the problems facing the cooperative movement in Asia and Africa made by the author of the monograph constitutes a serious academic study. V. Maslennikov traces the general regularities of the emergence of different types of cooperatives, their activities under colonial dependence, during the national liberation struggle and at present. Using a wealth of documents and data collected during trips to the newly-free countries, the author shows the influence of the social environment, parties and traditional institutions on cooperatives, the latter's role and place in social and class conflicts. He also examines the ways in which cooperative property is formed, the interaction between the state and cooperative sectors and the way they influence the elimination of multi-structured economy, as well as cooperatives' participation in carrying out land reforms. The role of different

types of cooperatives in socio-economic changes in newly-free countries is studied differentially; according to countries which have opted for capitalism and those adhering to socialist orientation

The author cites concrete examples and facts to show the positive role of cooperatives in eliminating usury and providing peasants with farm machinery, fertilizer and seeds. The revolutionary-democratic parties in developing countries also try to use cooperatives as a vehicle for helping and supporting the poor, as a means of involving broad masses in the active solution of economic and social tasks.

Today the cooperative movement has become a scene of confrontation between the working people and the exploiters who seek to spread their influence on cooperatives and, with their help, to consolidate their own economic and social positions and distract the masses from the struggle for social progress. Given the capitalist way of development, cooperatives facilitate the strengthening of the capitalist relations of production and become a tool for deriving the surplus product created by hired labour enlisted by cooperatives.

On the contrary, in socialist-oriented states cooperatives are used to combat the exploiters. They are an effec-

tive means for pushing the workers and peasants to the solution of economic tasks, for stimulating collective interests in their midst and engage their members in coping with social and political problems.

The monograph will, undoubtedly, be of interest to the readership at large and to specialists on socio-economic development in Asian and African countries. It can also serve as a study guide at cooperative training centres in Asia and Africa as well as in the socialist countries which have developed a system of training cadres for cooperative organisations in developing states.

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INTERNATIONAL

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE SPONSORS CONFERENCE ON AFRO-ASIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 84 p 64

[Article by A. Vinogradov under the rubric "Scientific Events": "Political Parties in Eastern Countries"]

[Text]

The role of the political and ideological superstructure in the life of the newly-free countries of the East is the subject of a close study by Marxist scholars who have published a number of interesting works in recent years.

This problem was also tackled at a working conference, Political Parties in the Developing Countries of the East, sponsored by the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences. Taking part in the discussion were research fellows of the leading Soviet academic centres, such as the Institute of Oriental Studies (USSR Academy of Sciences), the Institute of Africa (USSR Academy of Sciences), the Institute of Asian and African Countries (Moscow State University), the Institute of State and Law (USSR Academy of Sciences), and others.

The opening speech was delivered by Vladimir Lee, Dr. Sc. (Hist.), of the Institute of Oriental Studies. After giving a brief characterisation of the research carried out into the problem, he inferred that the political parties operating in Eastern countries, where the process of social and class differentiation has not yet been completed, can be, with certain reservations, divided into three major typological groups (according to the content and form of their activity): conciliatory-conservative, liberal-reformist and revolutionary.

Vladimir Maximenko, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted his report to some aspects of Lenin's concept of political parties.

This concept emerged from the sum of ideas, considerations and urgent tasks which were dictated by the requirements of the revolutionary situation in Russia. He stressed that Lenin's concept grew out of the idea about the political struggle of classes, which is expressed most fully in the struggle of parties. Lenin introduced the notion of the "type of parties" based on what he described as a "social type", a social entity serving as a link between economics and politics. These ideas of Lenin's continue to be a lodestar for all those analysing socio-political processes, including the evolution of the party and political systems in developing countries.

The place and role of the vanguard party in the political structure of Asian countries was examined by Prof. Vitali Naumkin of the Institute of Asian and African Countries. He asserted that to decide whether various parties are vanguard parties, one should consider the sum of criteria which include the social, ideological, organisational and foreign policy spheres and also the tasks facing each particular party.

Of much interest was the report by Anatoli Khazanov, Dr. Sc. (Hist.), of the Institute of Oriental Studies. He inferred that there can exist different types of revolutionary parties and that at each stage of revolutionary development there is a certain type of a revolutionary organisation. For example, when the delimitation of class interests is not yet on the agenda, a front-type national democratic party can be the leader (MPIA

in the 1960s, FRELIMO in the 1960s, the National Liberation Front Party in Algeria till 1978, TANU till 1967, etc.). He also raised the question as to whether it is expedient to adopt the name of populist socialist parties with reference to the revolutionary democratic parties of the first generation.

Alexander Notin, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), of the Institute of Oriental Studies, dealt with the influence different factors, primarily socio-political ones, exert on the present-day evolution of the revolutionary democratic parties (the Baath parties in Iraq and Syria). The socialist orientation today, Notin argues, is, in the general sense, the struggle of two tendencies: the progressive (noncapitalist proper) and the reactionary which reveals itself in a spontaneous growth of the capitalist relations of production. The correlation between these tendencies and, consequently, the character of socio-

political orientation in various countries is affected in a decisive manner by the socio-economic factor, which is fully corroborated by the experience of Iraq and Syria.

Several speakers put forward differing methodologies to be used in solving the problems of typology of party and political structures of Eastern countries (Leonid Fridman, Dr. Sc. (Econ.), the Institute of Asian and African Countries; Orest Martynishin, Dr. Sc. (Law), the Institute of State and Law, and others).

Prof. Vladimir Lee, who wound up the conference, pointed out that there remained quite a few outstanding problems to be tackled by the Orientalists, among them the working out of a multifaceted typology of parties operating in Eastern countries.

The working conference promoted academic contacts and cooperation of Marxist scholars, engaged in the study of political movements in Asian and African countries.

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INTERNATIONAL

KIM REVIEWS BOOK ON CULTURAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN MODERN SOCIETY

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 19, 11 May 84 p 2

[Article by Academician M.P. Kim: "Man's Cultura"]

[Text] The MGU [Moscow State University] Publishing House published Ye. I. Kukushkina's book "Poznaniye, yazyk, cul'tura" [Cognition, Language, Culture].

Interest in the spiritual culture has always occupied a significant place in the development of human thought; however, now it acquires special sharpness and direction. The thing of it is that under the conditions of the contemporary world, culture experiences the influence of society's very complex social structure, the accelerating pace of the scientific-technical revolution, and the rapidly developing means of mass information. This is why the study of possible future cultural development requires a global approach and the maximum consideration of all aspects of man's life and his spiritual aspirations.

For the socialist society, this task follows directly from the program of building a new world. Comrade K.U. Chernenko noted in his speech at the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "In order for the Soviet society to confidently move forward toward our great goal, every new generation must rise to a higher level of education, general culture, professional qualification, and civic activity. This, so to say, is a law of social progress."

In order to fully realize the cognitive possibilities, emotional structure and thinking style of contemporary man, a wide integrated study of humanity's entire spiritual experience is required. This, in turn, presumes turning to the richest materials of sciences concerning man and to all possible forms of man's aesthetic and moral attitude to the world in their interactions with theoretical knowledge.

In Ye. I. Kukushkina's book, precisely such an approach to spiritual culture is realized; here, the relationship between knowledge, language and culture is represented as a dialectical connection between the various aspects of the whole--the process of man's spiritual mastery of the world. Orienting the conceptual content of philosophical categories not only to scientific knowledge, but to the entire culture as whole, permits us to view the cultural

process as the soil that nurtures one's world view as real functioning area in any ideological formation.

The cultural aspects of study singled out by the author permitted us to consider the various types of connection, and primarily the relationships between material and spiritual culture, between culture and forms of social consciousness in the development and between the cognitive processes, communication and language. In their sum total, all these connections represent mechanisms for the development and function of people's spiritual life.

Ye. I. Kukushkina addresses a great deal of attention to the phenomenon which we are accustomed to define as the spiritual atmosphere of the era. In connection with this, she turns to rich historical-cultural material, singling out the most essential aspects of spiritual development, the characteristics of continuity in the relationships between cultures and the distinctive features of the scientific thinking style, which are characteristic of every stage in socio-historical development.

The problem of humanism, in its contemporary understanding, occupies a central place in the book, especially in connection with the meaning which the idea of humanism acquires under the contemporary conditions of the development of earth's civilization, when all progressive people are applying their efforts to prevent the threat of war.

The Marxist understanding of humanism as the key point in the practical and theoretical activity of society lies in the foundation of the entire educational party work, directed toward forming active builders of communism, and bringing up highly educated and spiritually rich people. The author's desire to illuminate such aspects of the socialist societies spiritual life as humanization of science and the orientation of philosophical knowledge toward man follows from this and presents materialistic dialectics as a special all-encompassing method of thinking.

The book persistently emphasizes the importance of strengthening the scientific foundations of the Marxist criticisms of various bourgeois interpretations of conscience and spiritual culture as a whole. These concepts require special attention from Marxist science, since capitalist apologists are happy to use them as a weapon; they serve to disorient public opinion, to create "mass" forms of culture, and to distract the workers' attention from those aspects of bourgeois life which sometimes cause deep pessimistic moods.

The rich specific material, drawn from fiction, art and science, and the analysis of language utilization in various areas of social activities and the processes of inner personal development, will attract the attention of readers who are interested in culture in all of its representations to Ye. I. Kukushkina's book "Poznaniye, yazyk, kul'tura."

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK VIEWS NATIONALISM IN RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 5, May 84 pp 137-140

[Review by N. Klyukhin and V. Usanov of book "Sotsialisticheskiy internatsionalizm i ideologicheskaya bor'ba" [Socialist Internationalism and the Ideological Struggle] by O.B. Labetskiy and A.M. Rybakov, Moscow, "Nauka", 1983, 199 pages]

[Text] The present time is characterized by an intensity and acerbity, unprecedented throughout the postwar years, in the struggle between the two diametrically opposed world outlooks and the two political courses of socialism and imperialism. As CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade K.U. Chernenko noted at a meeting with electors, "imperialist politicians strive in every possible way to restrict the international influence of the countries of socialism. They try to weaken their cohesion and shake the bases of the socialist system wherever they think that they can count on success. Under these conditions it is especially important to maintain and strengthen the solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries."

Illumination of the activity of our party in further developing the fraternal cooperation among the socialist countries, and critical analysis of the various bourgeois and revisionist concepts aimed at undermining the principles of socialist internationalism make up the main theme in the book being offered to readers.

Various kinds of bourgeois theoreticians assert that the determining factor in the development of interstate relations is nationalism. They treat bourgeois propaganda as a phenomenon that exists outside the social contradictions and specific historical conditions of the age, as some kind of datum that always holds, excluding the very possibility of any kind of new type of international relations.

Life, however, as is convincingly shown in this book, testifies to something quite different: the specific national interests of the socialist countries in the main coincide with their common, international interests and cannot be fully realized without consideration of the latter. It is precisely the correct and harmonious combination of the international and the national in the activity of each socialist state that insures optimal conditions for socioeconomic and cultural progress, an upsurge in the public well-being,

and a strengthening of the international positions both of the individual socialist countries and of the world socialist community as a whole.

Here it should be borne in mind that differences do exist between individual socialist countries in terms of economy, culture, and the ways and periods for accomplishing the tasks of building the new society. To proceed so that these differences do not interfere with the development of cooperation is the paramount duty of communists and of the ruling communist and workers parties. And every opportunity exists for this: the same kinds of socioeconomic and political systems, a common ideology--Marxism-Leninism--and common interests and aims.

The socialist systems creates all the conditions required for confident progress in society and harmonious relations between fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism. Experience in the building of socialism in individual countries, however, shows that the liquidation of the exploiter classes, thus undermining the social roots of nationalism, does not completely eliminate the causes of its [nationalism's] individual manifestations. These can be understood correctly only from the positions of Marxist-Leninist science, on a specific historical basis, taking into account that nationalism as a social phenomenon is inherent neither in the socioeconomic nature of socialism and its class structure, nor in its political system or ideology.

When speaking about the causes capable of giving rise to nationalist trends in the socialist countries, reference is usually made either to the legacy of the past or to the external influence of the bourgeois world. In principle this kind of approach causes no objection. At the same time, it notes in the book, it is not enough to explain specific manifestations of nationalism only through the direct effect of these two factors. During the course of the fast-moving development of world socialism it is necessary to resolve many socioeconomic and cultural problems, including those connected with the complicated process of the growth of national self-consciousness, the formation of the socialist nations, and the establishment of a new system of relations between states and peoples. And here omissions or errors are especially impermissible.

It must also be borne in mind that nationalism cannot be eradicated in the course of a single campaign. Indoctrinating people in the spirit of loyalty to revolutionary theory, proletarian ideology and socialist internationalism, and the internationalist line of the communist parties in their approach to urgent problems of international policy and mutual relations between the different detachments of the world liberation movement play an extraordinarily important role in developing immunity against nationalism.

The life of the socialist countries and their everyday mutual relations testify to the effectiveness of socialist internationalism. Many examples of this can be found in the pages of this book. Thus, taking into account the difficult situation in which the economy of Poland has found itself, CEMA is helping it, in particular by means of fulfilling pledges to make deliveries ahead of the scheduled times and in greater volumes. The Polish leaders have more

than once underlined the vitally important significance for the Polish national economy of stable Soviet deliveries of fuel, raw materials, power units and articles made in accordance with production cooperation, and of other goods.

In the declaration adopted at the 102d meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee it is noted that the CEMA member countries, decisively condemning the actions of imperialist circles and their attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, are giving and will continue to give comprehensive aid to the Polish people in overcoming the economic difficulties that have arisen, in reestablishing a normal production process in the national economy, and in insuring conditions for the further socialist development of that country. Political and economic aid for fraternal Poland is convincing confirmation of the common nature of the national state and international interests of the socialist countries.

Success in the matter of maintaining and strengthening peace depends in large measure on how great is the influence of the socialist countries in the world arena and how active, purposeful and agreed harmonious their actions. Our party's line is clear and unchanging. "Addressing the fraternal countries," comrade K.U. Chernenko underlined in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary Special February (1984) Plenum, "we say: in the future too, in the person of the Soviet Union you will have a reliable friend and loyal ally."

In the present complex international situation the significance of the fraternal countries' political cooperation in the struggle against imperialism and for progress and the security of the peoples is growing. The Warsaw Pact serves as a most important tool in this struggle. The authors of the book unmask the concepts of the bourgeois ideologues trying to misconstrue its foreign policy goals. There is no fabrication to which our class enemies will not resort in their attempts to substitute what is desired for the reality and to adhere to the thesis about the allegedly aggressive nature of the Warsaw Pact! In this connection it is superfluous to recall that the very creation of the Warsaw Pact was in response to the formation in 1949 of NATO--a bloc of the imperialist states aimed primarily against the socialist countries. And today the USSR and its allies are doing and will continue to do everything necessary to reliably protect their own security and, whatever the circumstances, to prevent NATO from gaining military superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries.

The thesis that the Warsaw Pact contradicts the interests of some socialist countries does not bear scrutiny of the facts. Thus, the agreed harmonious efforts of the fraternal countries, it states in the book, enabled the GDR to significantly consolidate its international positions, and this found expression in its de jure recognition by an overwhelming majority of states in the world; and enabled Czechoslovakia and Poland to conclude treaties with the FRG recognizing the inviolability of the postwar state borders. And in the future, too, the political cooperation of the fraternal countries, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, will be developed taking into account the features of the international situation, and also the specific interests of individual countries.

We also point out a common feature inherent in the "critics" of socialist internationalism. This is anti-Sovietism. In a manner showing nothing but shameless hatred of our country the American professor R. (Gripp) throws out,

for example, the following sentence: "Guided only by its own national interests the Soviet Union, which as the first communist country should have made sacrifices for international socialism, in practice has provided not a single example of this kind of cooperation."

For any unprejudiced person it is quite obvious that it was precisely the Soviet Army that during World War II helped the peoples of a number of countries occupied by the German fascists to reestablish national independence and set out on the road of really free development. It was precisely the Soviet Union that, guided by the principles of internationalism, offered and continues to offer the peoples of the socialist states moral-political support and material aid. In one of his speeches about the CPSU and the Soviet people the first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, J. Kadar, said the following: "Acting in the spirit of internationalism, selflessly, they have made and are making more sacrifices than anyone else in the interests of the cause of communism and the freedom of the peoples, and in preventing world war, on behalf of mankind's happy future."

Much space in the book is also given over to criticism of bourgeois views on the principles of socialist internationalism and their implementation in economic relations between the CEMA member countries.

As long ago as 1971 the 25th CEMA Session adopted the Comprehensive Program for Further Deepening and Improving Cooperation and Developing Socialist Economic Integration, based on the principles of socialist internationalism. Implementation of this program is enabling the socialist countries to build up their economic and defensive potential and strengthen their political and ideological unity and the authority and influence of the community in the world arena.

Today it is impossible to imagine the life of the fraternal countries without socialist economic integration, and in the future it will become even deeper, more comprehensive and more effective. Our enemies are quite well aware of this. It is not happenstance that the bourgeois falsifiers have selected as the main target for their attacks the principles of socialist internationalism being implemented within the framework of economic integration in the CEMA countries.

CEMA activity since the first years of its existence has been analyzed in monographs and in numerous articles written by American, English, French and West German economists, jurists and sociologists. And here the stress is laid on the alleged incompatibility of the general interests of the community and of each individual socialist country. Meanwhile, and this is stated in the book, it is precisely the principle of combining national and international interests that is the prime motive force in socialist integration. It is realized, in particular, in the international division of labor within the CEMA framework, which is increasingly helping the states to resolve their internal problems and smooth over the differences in the levels of their economic development. The following figures, for example, are cited in the book: calculated on a per capita basis for the European countries, the ratio between the highest and lowest levels of national income at the time when

CEMA was formed was 3.2:1, and for industrial output, 5:1; now these ratios are 1.3:1 and 1.7:1 (page 155).

Unable to refute the process of dynamic development in the economies of the socialist states, the bourgeois ideologues try to prove that one essential condition for this process is the reorientation of the CEMA members on the Common Market countries. The natural desire of the socialist states to develop mutually profitable trade relations with EEC members is interpreted in the same way.

The bankruptcy of the views of bourgeois ideologues and propagandists is also seen in their assertion that true integration is supranational, of the kind allegedly flourishing within the EEC. However, in practice it is precisely the Common Market that provides numerous examples of the infringement of the rights of some capitalist powers by others. In contrast to this, the sovereignty and equality of the CEMA member countries are guaranteed by its charter, and the viability of the community is insured. The equal nature of socialist economic integration is also manifest in the fact that CEMA decisions and recommendations are not applied in countries that for some reason are not interested in participating in their implementation. However, this does not affect cooperation in other fields. Nevertheless, the ideologues in the West have accused the CEMA organization of "violating the principles of sovereignty and equality in favor of the USSR." We note that the theme of Soviet "great-power hegemony" is being strongly spread by bourgeois propaganda. This is why a special section in the book is devoted to a refutation of this fabrication.

The uninterrupted, guaranteed long-term delivery of raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union and the export of Soviet machines and equipment and its participation in the construction of industrial projects, the book's authors note, are invaluable in raising the level of economic development in the socialist countries and the community as a whole. The same goal is pursued by the implementation of joint projects on the territory of the Soviet Union, the construction of gas pipelines and oil pipelines, and the exploitation of minerals. For all those participating in economic integration the USSR offers a profitable and stable market, and is their main foreign trading partner. It is also natural that a system of cooperative links that is soon to be set up will involve entire sectors of industry in the CEMA member countries, in operations based on a common technological basis. Each of these forms of mutual aid is an example of the principles of socialist internationalism.

We think that the book by O.B. Labetskiy and A.M. Rybakov will be of use to propagandists and students in the system of party indoctrination and to all those studying questions of the ideological struggle in the world arena.

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

U.S. PEACE GROUP IN BAKU--(AZERINFORM)--A delegation of an American antiwar organization, U.S.-USSR: Bridges to Peace, visited Baku for 4 days. It was made up of public figures, scientists, representatives of youth organizations, the clergy and doctors. The members of the delegation were received in the Azerbaijan Peace Committee, where they had a conversation with its chairman, M. Ibragimbekov. The delegation was received in the republic Komsomol Central Committee. The guests from the United States had a conversation with A. Pashazade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Transcaucasia, and with P. Slishchenko, administrator of the Russian churches of Azerbaijan. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 Jun 84 p 4]

FINNISH ARCHITECTS IN ASHKHABAD--Two vice presidents of the Association of Finnish Architects, Mrs Pekkala Kostela and Mr Per Maurice Alander, were the guests of the Turkmen SSR Union of Architects for several days. These leading Finnish specialists came to our country at the invitation of the USSR Union of Architects. [Excerpt] [Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 Jun 84 p 4]

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NATIONAL

A. N. KOSYGIN'S ACHIEVEMENTS NOTED AT 80TH BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATION

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 5, May 84 (signed to press 26 Apr 84) pp 147-151

[Article by L. P. Kvashuk under rubric "Scientific Life": "Fighter for Lenin's Great Cause"]

[Text] On 20 February a solemn session devoted to the 80th birthday of the prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, twice Hero of Socialist Labor Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin was held at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism [IML] under the CPSU Central Committee.

The opening word at the session was delivered by IML director, Academician A. G. Yegorov. We in our party, he said, have made it a good tradition to mark the memorable anniversary dates of the prominent figures in the party and state, the fighters for the great Communist cause, whose contribution to the revolutionary movement of the working class and the strengthening of the political, economic, and defensive might of our Motherland has earned nationwide recognition. Their activities have embodied the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the creative development and implementation of the principles of scientific communism. We rely upon that experience, we continue to use it creatively today, when our country faces new and colossal tasks such as many of our predecessors did not have to resolve.

The life path -- or it would be better to say the life exploits -- of the representatives of the Leninist guard who were indoctrinated by the Great October, the figures who became toughened during the difficult years of the creation of the foundations of the socialist society, the leaders of our industry during the period of the first five-year plans, the generation that carried on its shoulders the entire burden of the struggle and that won the victory during the Great Patriotic War, serves as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for Soviet citizens to this very day. Their example helps to indoctrinate more and more new generations of Soviet citizens in the spirit of faithfulness to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, the speaker continued, belonged to that generation whose representatives, as they entered the Young Communist League, received, together with their Komsomol card, a rifle and then set off to defend the Soviet authority. As a 15-year-old boy in 1919 he voluntarily

entered the Red Army and participated in the Civil War, defending, with a weapon in his hands, the young Soviet republic.

A very important stage on A. N. Kosygin's life path was his entry, in 1927, into the ranks of the Communist Party. From that moment until his last breath he was a faithful son of the party, a conductor of its policy, and an active fighter for its ideals, seeing in that the entire meaning of his life.

During the years of the socialist remodeling of the national economy, when, to use A. N. Kosygin's words, "the majesty of the socioeconomic tasks gave birth in the nation to a tremendous political and labor upsurge" [1], our country witnessed the growth of many outstanding organizers of industry -- commanders of the new, socialist type of industry. That glorious galaxy included A. N. Kosygin. An act that served as the acknowledgement of his merits as a large-scale economic manager and state figure was his promotion in 1940 to the position of deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars.

A. N. Kosygin's capabilities manifested themselves with particular force, A. G. Yegorov remarked, during the fiery years of the Great Patriotic War, which was, as everyone knows, the greatest test of the strength and durability of the socialist system and the gains of the Great October. Our nation withstood that test with distinction: by breaking the back of the fascist beast, our nation saved human civilization from Hitlerite barbarism. The war demonstrated that the assets of socialism which had guaranteed that victory did not manifest themselves automatically, not on their own accord. These assets were often demonstrated under difficult, frequently inhuman conditions by Soviet citizens -- men and women workers, men and women kolkhoz workers, engineers and people's commissars, soldiers and marshals.

An especially important role under the wartime conditions was played by the commanders at the front and in the enemy's rear, the organizers of the struggle and labor who were able to consolidate people, to concentrate their will and energy in the name of the attainment of that great goal -- Victory. One such person was A. N. Kosygin. During those years he worked untiringly to resolve the problems of converting the national economy to a wartime basis. He played a tremendous role in the rebasing of the industrial enterprises and people from the western parts of the country to the east.

The scope of that activity is attested by the following figures: during the second half of 1941 more than 10 million persons were transported to the rear in the shortest possible periods of time, and more than 1500 major industrial enterprises were rebased. That colossal operation became, as A. N. Kosygin wrote, "a very important link in the successful conversion of our economy to a wartime basis, guaranteeing the rapid buildup of the military and economic potential" [2].

A. N. Kosygin made a considerable contribution to the defense of the cradle of the proletarian revolution -- the city of Lenin, the 40th anniversary of the complete lifting of the blockade of which was recently noted by our entire country. From January through July 1942 he was in Leningrad as an empowered representative of the State Defense Committee, carrying out a large and important job there.

During the postwar years, starting in October 1964, A. N. Kosygin headed the Soviet government. He made no small contribution to the development and carrying out of the party course that was aimed at the building of the developed socialist society.

A. N. Kosygin's reports at the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses, his statements at the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and other documents provide a thorough analysis of our country's socioeconomic development, and the very large-scale national-economic problems that were advanced during the process of the progressive advancement of our socialist society. The very important thoughts expressed in those documents continue to retain their vital importance to this day. And it is not only in questions of the economy, but also in all other spheres, including the area of political relations, since, as has been attested by historical experience, both the socialist self-administration which is based on the state organization of society, and the future social communist self-administration to which we are proceeding and which we shall reach, begin in the sphere of social production, in the administration of that social production.

It is extremely telling, the speaker remarked, that A. N. Kosygin, while a major figure in the area of scientific-technical and economic progress, never felt constrained within those limits but rather, relying upon economics, analyzed our society as a whole, in its dynamics. A major state and party figure, he was able to locate and to eliminate promptly any shortcomings, to see the paths, methods, and means of our steady movement ahead, and of carrying out the Program of Peace and Communism that was planned by the CPSU.

In 1965 in a report at the September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, A. N. Kosygin emphasized that currently the factors that move into the foreground are "the taking of all steps to increase the effectiveness of social production; the conservation of live and embodied labor costs; the steady and considerable increase in the benefits derived from capital investments and fixed production assets." Proceeding from this assumption, he said, "at the present stage in the development of the Soviet economy, science, technology, and culture, a factor that takes on decisive importance is the efficient, economical management in absolutely all links of our national economy..." [3].

The realization of this course aimed at the increased effectiveness of social production, was seen by A. N. Kosygin in the paths of continued improvement in the scientific planning of the economy and the taking of steps to expand the economic independence and initiative of the enterprises and associations, to reinforce and develop cost accounting, and to expand the use of economic incentives to stimulate production [4]. In his last major work, which was published in May 1980, he wrote, "Greater worker discipline, and greater labor intensity is the most important and greater labor intensity is the condition for increasing the productivity of social labor" [5].

All these questions -- even though they appear in new aspects -- continue to confront our society. And there is no doubt that a remarkable landmark in the resolution of them will be the large-scale experiment that has been carried

out since 1 January of this year in the branches of industry -- the experiment of expanding the rights of the production associations (enterprises) in planning and economic activity and intensifying their responsibility for the results of their work. This experiment is of tremendous importance not only for those branches and regions where it is being carried out, but also for the national economy as a whole, for the purpose of adjusting the economic mechanism and the entire, comprehensive, interrelated system of administering the country's economy.

The November 1982, June and December 1983, and extraordinary February 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, A. G. Yegorov went on to say, direct us toward the continued increase in production, the improvement in the quality of work, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the strictest observance of planning and labor discipline, and the improvement of the administration of the national economy.

At the present time our party is resolving complicated problems in all areas of social life, relying upon the experience of previous development. But, as was emphasized at the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "continuity is not an abstract concept, but, rather, is a living, real endeavor. And its essence lies primarily in not stopping, in continuing to move ahead. Moving ahead while relying upon everything that was achieved previously, creatively enriching it, concentrating the collective mind and energy of the Communists, the working class, and the entire nation on the unresolved tasks, on the key problems of the present and future" [6]

Our entire party and the entire Soviet nation have warmly approved the decisions of the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the election of Comrade K. U. Chernenko as General Secretary of our party's Central Committee. Closely consolidated around the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the Central Committee, the Soviet nation has perceived Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech as its fighting program of actions.

Our party, our nation, A. G. Yegorov said in conclusion, is currently resolving complicated tasks for the systematic and all-around improvement of the developed socialist society. At such time the party creatively uses, develops, and enriches the valuable experience that was accumulated in the course of its prior development. A contribution to that experience was also made by Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, a prominent figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

A report on the life and activity of A. N. Kosygin was given by First Deputy Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor P. A. Rodionov.

Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin was born on 21 February 1904 in Saint Petersburg in the family of a lathe operator. The speaker dwelt briefly on the initial period of A. N. Kosygin's life, which included voluntary service in the Red Army in 1919-1921, training in a technical school, then work in the system of a consumers' cooperative in Siberia, more schooling -- this time at the

Leningrad Textile Institute imeni S. M. Kirov -- then work at the Textile Factory imeni A. I. Zhelyabov, and the path from foreman to manager of the enterprise. Then the speaker emphasized that the event that was a major event for A. N. Kosygin was his entry into the ranks of the great Leninist party. Until the last days of his brilliant, full life, he devotedly served that party like a soldier, like its faithful son.

In 1938 A. N. Kosygin was elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies; in January 1939 he was elected People's Commissar of the USSR Textile Industry; and a year later, deputy chairman of USSR Council of People's Commissars, for a period of three years combining that work with his duties as chief of government of the RSFSR.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War A. N. Kosygin made a significant contribution to the struggle against the hated and sly enemy, executing responsible and complicated party and governmental assignments that were linked with the reorganization of the country's life and putting it on a wartime basis and with the creation of a military-industrial base in the eastern parts of the USSR. The 24 June 1941 decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee created a special Evacuation Council, one of the leaders of which was A. N. Kosygin. In that effort he used the experience that had been accumulated over the period of a half-year (from January through July 1942) in the position of empowered agent of the State Defense Committee in Leningrad, when he took active part in the evacuation of the population and the industrial enterprises in the city to the Large Land, devoting to that endeavor all of his rich life experience, and organizational talent.

The war came to an end and the Soviet nation emerged victorious. But the victory was won at a dear cost. The damage that had been inflicted in that historically completely unprecedented war was incredibly great. It was necessary to heal the wounds that had been inflicted on the country and to revive the national economy. Working in high governmental positions, A. N. Kosygin was closely involved with those problems.

But his outstanding capabilities as a major governmental figure manifested themselves especially fruitfully and brilliantly, P. A. Rodionov remarked, in his position as chief of the Soviet government. A. N. Kosygin held that high duty from October 1964, for a period of 16 years -- a substantial chunk of time.

A. N. Kosygin's reports, statements, and speeches at party congresses, plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, sessions of the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets, at meetings of the workers, and at international forums reveal the content and nature of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, and the selfless struggle of the party and the nation for the communist transformation of society. They all are distinguished by profound thought, by knowledge of the subject, and by the convincing nature of the argumentation. A. N. Kosygin devoted untiring attention to questions of economics, to the improvement of the administration of the economic mechanism, and invariably emphasized the decisive importance of increasing the effectiveness of social production and raising labor productivity in the effort to build the material-technical base of communism, the complete utilization of all the existing material and

manpower resources, the strictest economical measures, and the reinforcement of planning and labor discipline.

Questions concerning the status and the further development of the economy of a mature socialist society and the creation of the material and technical base of communism occupied the predominant place in A. N. Kosygin's reports at the September 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and at the 23rd, 24th, and 25th Party Congresses. In them he emphasized that the successful development of the national economy and the raising of the national standard of living depend entirely and completely upon the increase in labor productivity, upon the effectiveness of the use of production assets and material resources, and upon the high final results of the economic activity of every enterprise. Questions of increasing the effectiveness of social production and the quality of output were always in A. N. Kosygin's field of vision and he engaged in them daily.

The object of A. N. Kosygin's unceasing concern as the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, P. A. Rodionov continued, was the work of the planning agencies, which work was well known to him on the basis of the experience in his past activities. Guided by the party's fundamental principles concerning the need to take a scientific approach toward planning and toward forecasting the economic development of all branches of the national economy, he did not spare any efforts to implement those principles. He proceeded from the knowledge that planning and economic development itself are inseparably linked with the resolution of social problems and therefore, in the plans for the national economy, the economic and social tasks must be organically interrelated.

A. N. Kosygin remarked that, when choosing the ways and means for raising the national standard of living, the CPSU and the Soviet state are consistently guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle concerning the place and role of labor in the system of socialist reproduction. Under socialism, payment on the basis of labor is the basic source of the workers' income and a very important factor for improving the economic welfare of the people. Payment based on labor, by raising the workers' self-interest in the increase of labor productivity, thus exerts a direct influence upon the development of social production.

The Communist Party, the speaker went on to say, attaches tremendous importance to the steady development of science and to the attainment of its inseparable tie with the practical aspects of communist construction. As A. N. Kosygin noted in one of his speeches, socialism gives inestimable significance to the steadfast development of science, makes it possible to organize production on scientific principles, and at the same time creates the necessary material-technical base for science. In our day science has not only become the basis of any production process, but in a certain sense, scientific activity and scientific research themselves have acquired a production nature.

Speaking on 8 October 1975 at a reception at the Kremlin on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. N. Kosygin said the following about the vocation of scientist: "In order always to be at the level

of the requirements of life, a scientist must never stop his scientific search or become complacent about what has been achieved. It is for good reason that people say that the urge to overcome the limits is always inherent in a creative soul. This is an excellent quality, although it makes the life of those people, whether they be scientists, workers, artists, or political figures, very restless. But in that noble restlessness they find the true happiness of their life" [7].

A. N. Kosygin has also rendered great services in the effort to strengthen the cooperation of the socialist countries, and in the establishment of a new type of international relations among them. He was a constant participant in sessions of CEMA, headed Soviet delegations at many meetings of the leaders of socialist countries, and always strove for these meetings to have the utmost contribution toward the development and reinforcement of the political, socioeconomic, and cultural ties among those states. A. N. Kosygin devoted special importance to the consolidation and improvement of the principles of socialist economic integration, to measures aimed at expanding the international division of labor, and to the development of a single program for economic development that would take into account the needs of each country and the socialist community as a whole.

The decisions of our party's 26th Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and especially the November 1982, December 1983, and the February 1984 Plenums, P. A. Rodionov remarked, define precisely and consistently the prospects for the development and strengthening of socialist integration and its continued improvement, and that the consolidation of the friendship and unity of the peoples of the socialist countries will continue to be at the center of attention of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

A. N. Kosygin made a tremendous contribution to the activities of the CPSU which were aimed at detente and at preventing the threat of thermonuclear war. At international meetings in Moscow and heading Soviet state delegations abroad, he showed himself to be a very experienced statesman who staunchly and consistently defended the interests of the Soviet Union, the countries in the socialist community, and the cause of peace and social justice.

As a member of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government in 1939, A. N. Kosygin took the most active part in the development and implementation of the party's political course, which is aimed at the complete reinforcement of the might of our socialist state and its international positions. He devoted all his strength and knowledge, his extensive party and state experience to the great cause of communist construction. In all the posts to which his party assigned him, A. N. Kosygin showed himself to be a major organizer of socialist construction. He was distinguished by his utter devotion to the cause of the Leninist party and to the interests of the Soviet citizens. All of this brought him high and completely deserved prestige in the party and among the people.

Speaking in the Kremlin on the occasion of his being awarded the Order of Lenin and his second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal on his 70th birthday, A. N. Kosygin said, "A person's 70th birthday is that time in his life when, involuntarily, there arises a need for him to think about the meaning of the

years that have elapsed. And if one is to speak briefly about what is most important for me, -- it is for all the other members of our great Leninist party, it is in my having served the interests of the socialist Motherland, in having attempted always to be useful to people in the struggle to implement the communist ideals" [8].

A. N. Kosygin possessed great qualities as a human being. His winning features were his simplicity, modesty, and kind-heartedness. He was democratic in the highest sense of that word. That means accessibility, affability, a respectful, attentive, careful attitude toward people and their human dignity. At the same time A. N. Kosygin was noted for his high standard, deep respect for principles, and implacability toward even the slightest manifestations of sloppy work attitudes, lack of discipline, or the lack of unity between word and deed. As attested by those who worked with him, he had that most valuable quality of the leader -- the ability to create a businesslike, creative atmosphere.

In recognition of his great service to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, A. N. Kosygin was given many government awards. But the highest reward is the good memory among the people. The example of his life will inspire many generations of Soviet citizens, since the cause to which A. N. Kosygin devoted his exceptional talent is immortal.

FOOTNOTES

1. KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1980, p 44.
2. Ibid., p 49.
3. Kosygin, A. N., "Towards Our Great Cause," "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Collected Speeches and Articles], Vol 1, Moscow, 1979, p 319.
4. See Ibid., pp 326-327.
5. KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1980, p 58.
6. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda" [Materials of the 13 February 1984 Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], Moscow, 1984, p 10.
7. Kosygin, A. N., op. cit., p 395.
8. Ibid., p 251.

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REGIONAL

GAPUROV CRITICIZES TURKMEN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 May 84 pp 1,2

[Speech by N.G.Gapurov, first secretary of CPTu Central Committee, at meeting of party and production aktiv on May 19 in Ashkhabad.]

[Text] The 10th plenum of the CPTu Central Committee which was held on May 7 discussed in detail the tasks facing party and economic organs and the labor collectives of the republic in light of the decisions adopted by the April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the recommendations and directions featured in the speech delivered there by comrade K.U.Chernenko.

The plenum of the CPTu Central Committee exhaustively analyzed the current state of affairs and earmarked measures to ensure that all target figures for the fourth year of the eleventh five-year plan are successfully met.

The economy of the republic is gaining momentum. In the first four months of the year the workers of the industrial sector overfulfilled their plan for that period by 4.4 percent, above-plan sales of goods totalled 53 million rubles. Construction organizations have improved their work, significant successes have been achieved by transport workers.

Some gains have been achieved in the development of agriculture. In spite of rough conditions, our cattle breeders successfully saw the winter through. All first-quarter production and procurement plans for animal husbandry produce have been fulfilled, the cattle herd has increased in numbers, the productivity of animal husbandry is on the rise. Grain, feedgrain, vegetable and melon plantings are being ably tended. Work in fruit gardens and vineyards is in full swing.

At the same time the agriculture of the republic does not utilize its potential reserves and possibilities in the fullest measure.

The All-Union economic conference on problems of the agroindustrial complex (Moscow, March 26-27) discussed many topical aspects of the work being done by party, soviet and economic organs to implement

the decisions of the 26th congress of the party, the May (1982) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee as well as the Food program of the country.

Speaking at the conference, both General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade K.U.Chernenko and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade M.S.Gorbachev noted the enormity of what has already been accomplished and the serious shortcomings in various branches of the agroindustrial complex that are fully applicable to us too.

Comrades! In his speech here CPYu Central Committee Secretary comrade Charyyev Nergen Atayevich presented a detailed analysis of the state of affairs in the republic's agriculture and proposed concrete measures to improve its performance. I would like to dwell on some of the issues involved.

First and foremost comes the question of cotton whose increased output is our patriotic and internationalist duty to the state.

Last year the republic fulfilled its plan and social obligations for cotton. However, an analysis of the work of each individual rayon, kolkhoz and sovkhoz reveals that not all of them met their target figures. Such is the case with Mary oblast, 12 rayons and 40 percent of all cotton-growing kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As a result of such "work", if so it can be called, the republic owes the state a debt of 100 thousand tons of cotton.

One would think that the lessons of last year were well memorized by all, but this year again not all the farms are working the way we would like. Thinning out is proceeding at an overly slow pace. In Mary oblast the job has been done on 70.4 percent of the acreage sown, in Chardzhou oblast - on 78 percent. Many of those oblasts' rayons are not through with the thinning out chore, even though the best period for this important agrotechnical measure is fast drawing to a close. Also too slow is the cultivation of the crop. Thus, in Mary and Chardzhou oblasts the first cultivation is not over yet, in Tashauz oblast it has not really begun. Not all available cultivators have been drawn into the job. 705 of these machines are idle in Mary oblast, 200 in Chardzhou, 375 in Ashkhabad, and in Tashauz oblast 3100 cultivators are not work-ready.

To take out a good harvest of cotton we must resolutely improve performance in carrying out agrotechnical measures, use irrigation water and mineral fertilizers properly and efficiently, cultivate the crop on time and with good quality, and wage a continuous struggle against agricultural pests.

Party obkoms and raykoms, obispolkoms and rayispolkoms as well as agricultural organs must not lose a single day in initiating wide-ranging organizational work to enhance the responsibility of

kolkhoz and sovkhoz directors and Rayon Agroindustrial Association specialists for strict observance of plant cultivation schedules and quality. They must also at all times strive to assimilate advanced know-how and the achievements of science and practical farming experience.

Comrades! In comrade N.S.Gorbachev's speech our republic was subjected to well-earned criticism for shortcomings in the growing of corn for fodder. There is no denying that we talk a lot about increasing this important plant's output, but do not give it adequate attention. Year after year its yield grows less, in some areas the result is less than 10 quintals per hectare (Bakharden, Tedzhen and Karabekaul rayons); in a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes the picture is even bleaker - 5 to 7 quintals from every hectare of irrigated land. This, to put it bluntly, is highly irresponsible.

Not much better is the situation with the melon-crop yield. In 1983 the figure for the republic as a whole was 85 quintals per hectare, but Krasnovodsk oblast produced 31, Ashkabad - 57 and Mary oblast - 87 quintals per hectare, less, that is, than the republic average.

Melon crop planting is behind schedule this year too. Only Krasnovodsk oblast has finished sowing.

Every oblast and rayon must take a hard look at the state of affairs in corn and melon-growing brigades and decide on measures to increase the grain content of corn and melons. Farm management and specialists must be made to shoulder greater responsibility for these crops' yields.

Comrades! As we all know, one of the leading fields in agriculture is animal husbandry. It is also the cornerstone of the country's Food Program.

Recent years have seen an overall increase in the republic's output and procurement of animal husbandry products, a rise in the numbers and productivity of all species of livestock.

Nevertheless, there are quite a few reserves and unused opportunities in our animal breeding too. A sizable group of farms has not met its targets for the production and sale of animal husbandry products. Meat production is down in Krasnovodsk oblast, Geok-Tepe, Kirovsk, Serakhs, Bayram-Ali, Sayat, Sakar, Khodzhambas, Leninsk, Ilyaly and Kuhya-Urgench rayons. The dairy divisions of Mary and Chardzhou oblast farms have fallen below last year's figures, with the republic's milk production slipping by 500 tons as a result.

Egg production is practically at a standstill, with Krasnovodsk and Ashkhabad oblasts even registering a reduction in output.

As evidenced by analysis, management cadres have yet to realize the full extent of their responsibility: they are not waging a resolute struggle to fulfil the state plan and have allowed most indicators to fall below last year's levels. Meat deliveries by Krasnovodsk oblast were down by 483 tons, eggs by 1025000 units, egg purchases in Ashkhabad oblast were 144000 units less and Chardzhou oblast farms bought 124 tons less milk.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade K.U.Chernenko said at its April (1984) plenum: "Apprehension, even, if you will, alarm about the state plan must not leave us for a minute.."

To this can only be added that neither must we leave in peace for a single moment those managers who fail to achieve fulfilment of state plans, undertaking the strictest of measures against each.

Comrades! The central factor in increasing the output of animal husbandry products is the creation of a reliable fodder base. This, it would seem, is a truth known to all, but there are farms where the attention this problem gets is totally inadequate.

This year weather conditions for sowing fodder crops were more or less favorable. Not every farm, though, used them to good advantage. At last report (May 14), alfalfa sowing had not been completed in Mary and Tashauz oblasts. With the sole exception of Krasnovodsk oblast, no other oblast has finished the planting of fodder root crops or melons.

At the present time the alfalfa crop is being mowed throughout the republic, but the results are lower than for the same period of past years. This first-cut alfalfa must be harvested in a week's time and used to improve the succulent-fodder ration of, above all, milch cows and heifers, thus allowing a sharp increase in milk production.

Every farm, rayon and oblast must meet its target figures for ensilage and alfalfa hay storage, do everything possible to make the current year a turning point in the creation of a solid fodder base.

The ministries and departments of the agroindustrial complex, party otkoms and raykoms, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms, kolkhoz and sovkhoz management and specialists must critically analyze, bearing in mind the lessons of the past, the situation with regard to the mowing of alfalfa and sundry other grasses, as well as the storage of coarse feedstuffs so as to preclude the repetition of previous mistakes.

Comrades! Another and no less important question on our agenda today is that of the economic effectiveness of every farm. Unfortunately, in some kolkhozes and sovkhozes the profitability of production remains low. The relevant republic ministries and departments are not giving the problem the attention it warrants.

The success of the struggle for the further advancement and intensification of agricultural production will be determined in large measure by the level of the organizational, ideological and educational work conducted by party raykoms among the masses, by their ability to concentrate the efforts of soviet and economic organs, management and specialists on the fundamental aspects of economic and social development. Particular stress should be laid on enhancing the role of primary party organizations and improving the selection, deployment and education of cadres. Success should be achieved by such effective tools as wide-ranging introduction of cost accounting and the brigade contract method, initiative, enterprise and the great motive power of socialist competition.

In a word, the tasks and the work facing the toilers of the agro-industrial complex are many. The need now is to reinforce party, state and labor discipline in every possible way, to have each and every one carry out his duties to the letter, raise the level of responsibility of cadres for the job entrusted to them. Organization and order must be displayed by every worker at every stage of every job.

You all know what General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade K.U.Chernenko said at the April plenum of the Central Committee - that the penalty for any failure, any slipshod work allowed to happen this year should be greater than at any time before. Our party's position on this issue cannot be otherwise. We think this fully relates to agriculture too.

The time has come for party committees, soviet and agriculture organs to take strict measures against those who fail, and sometimes hopelessly botch, fulfilment of an important assignment in agricultural production. The Central Committee of the CPTu will continue to exercise unceasing control over the work of party, soviet and agriculture organs and hold those whom it may concern strictly responsible for failure to carry out plans and assignments.

The successful achievement of the targets set for 1984 requires the further intensification of political and organizational work by party committees, RAPO councils, ministries and departments and the agroindustrial complex.

We all well understand the significance of 1984, a jubilee year for the republic. To prepare for and fittingly celebrate the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and the Communist Party of Turkmenia, as well as the 100th anniversary of Turkmenia's voluntary association with Russia requires a special dedication to the achievement of the tasks that now stand before us.

The Central Committee of the CPTu is of the opinion that in depth, positive and frank discussion of various questions relating to the further development of the agroindustrial complex represents an important phase in our efforts to carry out the economic strategy of the CPSU and the directives of the 26th party congress.

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REGIONAL

USMANKHODZHAYEV ADDRESSES UZBEK AGRICULTURE WORKERS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 May 84 p 1

[Article: Resources of the Agro-Industrial Complex -- Into Action"]

[Text] The sovkhoz imeni Buddennyy in Leninyul'skiy Rayon was the site of a republic conference at which the results of the All-Union Economic Conference on problems of the agro-industrial complex and the Tasks of the Party, soviet, and economic organs in increasing the efficiency of agricultural production and other sectors of the republic's agricultural-industrial complex, were discussed.

First Secretary of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee I. B. Usmankhodzhayev presented a report. He noted that the Party and Government are devoting enormous attention to problems concerned with the country's agricultural production. This was reflected in the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and of the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the USSR Food Program. The workers of the country, including those of Uzbekistan, perceived as a guide to action the statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet comrade K. U. Chernenko, that the Party views concern about agricultural development not only as an economic but a paramount social-political task.

In the last three years almost seven billion rubles have been appropriated from government funds for the development of cotton-growing and other agricultural sectors of the republic. That sum exceeds eight billion rubles if capital investments are included. Large-scale water management projects have been completed, large tracts of irrigated land are being developed, and new farms have been formed. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic are receiving ever-increasing amounts of modern machinery, mineral fertilizers, and other chemicals. The achievements of scientific-technical progress are being introduced. All of this has assured an intensification of cotton-growing, animal husbandry, and other sectors.

Despite the difficult weather conditions of the last three years of the Five-Year Plan, particularly those of last year, thanks to the selfless labor of kolkhoz farmers, sovkhoz workers, and specialists and the efforts of Party and soviet organs, we were able to maintain, and in some cases, exceed the achieved level of production. The republic's contribution to

fulfillment of the Food Program has grown. In the three years of the current Five-Year Plan the state purchase plans for all basic types of production has been fulfilled.

Upward shifts in efficiency of agricultural production have been noted. Productivity last year increased by 3.4 percent. Net income in the kolkhozes and profits in the sovkhozes rose.

At the same time, the resources of the agro-industrial complex are still not being fully utilized. Many farms, individual rayons, and oblasts are underproducing by significant margins. The cotton yield is growing slowly and is even decreasing in a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The Namanganskaya, Syrdar'inskaya, Dzhizakskaya, and Andizhanskaya oblasts have not met their cotton procurement quotas for the current Five-Year Plan. The production of rice, potatoes, vegetables, and melons has been short of the planned level by a significant amount in the Karalpanskaya ASSR. Livestock breeders in a number of oblasts, including the Samarkanskaya and Navoyskaya oblasts are still in arrears to the state.

The quality of raw cotton, as indicated by the low yield of fiber in a number of oblasts, remains a serious problem. The manner of providing incentives under these conditions for farms producing raw cotton without accounting for fiber yield, the final product of cotton growing, is all too apparent. There are still many shortcomings in the storage and processing of cotton. The objective need to accelerate the agro-industrial integration of cotton-growing, the organic union between the production and processing of raw cotton, is long overdue.

There are serious shortcomings in animal husbandry. The efficiency of this sector is low in many farms. The basic reason for this is the poor development of a fodder base and the low productivity of cattle. In a number of places, the practice of turning over to the state undernourished and underweight cattle is to be condemned. This results in great material harm to the farms, and the state receives a short supply of meat.

In recent years the state has taken steps to normalize the economics of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In particular, the procurement prices for cotton and other agricultural products have been increased. However, the resultant opportunities for increasing the profitability of public production are still not being fully utilized. Production costs, including those of cotton, have increased in a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes because of incompetent management and improper organization of production. This primarily occurs because of higher non-productive expenditures, particularly expenses for manual labor. Control over the spending of funds is still being poorly implemented. Deception in record keeping is allowed to take place.

These and other facts are indicative not only of poor management and impunity, but also an insufficient level of ideological training undertaken by Party raykoms and primary party organizations among specialists and farm supervisors. It is essential to take all possible measures to improve

radically the financing procedures and economic operations in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to raise the quality of economic services in the farms to the appropriate level.

Agricultural sciences occupy an important place in the resolution of the Food Program. Unfortunately, the republic's scientific institutions are still operating inefficiently. There are still too few comprehensive plans aimed at stimulating agriculture and scientific support for the Food Program.

The rayon agro-industrial associations that were organized after the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee are still ineffectively fulfilling their functions. The employees of RAPO are more often than not busy with current matters and speechifying rather than being more actively engaged in solving fundamental problems in raising the efficiency of agricultural production.

The tasks of perfecting production organization and management, improving management, and the broad introduction of collective contracts are priority targets at the contemporary developmental stage of production and intensification of the agro-industrial complex sectors, as was mentioned at the All-Union Economic Conference. Much work has been done in this direction in the republic. Last year 73 percent of the brigades and links, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes were working on a collective contract in cotton-growing. The cotton yield in the subdivisions operating by this method was one and half quintals greater, and labor costs were six percent lower, than in the regular brigades. The cost of producing one quintal of product was reduced by nine percent.

However, much work has yet to be done to assure the broad use of this form of labor organization in all farms. Thus, the brigade contract in cotton-growing -- the leading sector of the republic's agriculture -- should be operating throughout the entire season, including harvesting. Since we do not as yet have that arrangement, a rise in the efficiency of the brigade contract is being delayed. The formation of very small-size brigades and links in a number of farms can not be considered a correct mode of operation.

The work done in the Surkhandari'inskaya Oblast on improving the new forms of labor organization warrants our attention. Here collective contract and cost accounting are organized on the basis of a crop rotation section. As a rule, such a section entails an area of 300 to 500 hectares and consists of ten fields of which seven are given to cotton, and three to alfalfa and corn. One section is worked by one fodder-producing and 3 - 5 by cotton-growing brigades. This has brought the brigades and links close to the soil and has facilitated the development of crop rotations.

The formation of crop rotation sections has made it possible to reduce the administrative apparatus and at the same time allow more time for the brigade leaders to work at their main task - that of organizing work better

and assigning work places properly. As a result of the crop rotation section organization, more than three thousand persons in the oblast, representing a wage fund of over 2.5 million rubles, have been released. The example set in Surkhandar'inskaya Oblast of introducing a contract on the basis of a crop rotation section is deserving of all-around support and propagation everywhere. One must take into consideration the particular conditions of any given zone, oblast or rayon which might require special conditions for the organization of production.

"Confronting the republic's agro-industrial complex," concluded comrade I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, "are huge and serious tasks. It is essential to rectify the situation in cotton-growing and increase further the production of grain, fruits and vegetables, meat, milk, and other agricultural products. We must accelerate the growth in productivity and increase the profitability of all farms. To solve these problems it is very important to heighten the vanguard role of communists, to improve the operations of party committees and the training cadre.." "Today's task is to complete the sowing of the spring crops, to organize in an exemplary fashion the handling of cotton planting and other agricultural crops, and to devote more attention to the development of animal husbandry. The duty of all of the republic's workers is to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Uzbek SSR and the Uzbek Communist Party by new labor accomplishments."

Also participating in the discussion were First Secretary of the Surkhandar Obkom of the Party A. K. Karimov, Director of the Central Asian Scientific-Research Institute of Agricultural Economics S. N. Usmanov, First Secretary of the Leningrad Raykom of the Party K. Bazarov, Director of the sovkhoz imeni Budennyy A. Yu. Kurbanov, and chief of that farm's crop rotation section No. 8 Kh. Saparov. They shared their experiences, offered proposals for further developing the republic's agro-industrial complex, and gave assurances that agricultural workers will spare no efforts or energy to fulfill successfully the plans and socialist pledges adopted for the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan and for the Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Participating in the work of the conference were Secretary of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Ye. A. Aytmuratov, Deputy Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers B. R. Rakhimov, first secretaries of Obkoms, supervisors of the ministries and departments of the republic's APK [agro-industrial complex], scientists, and leading production workers.

6289
CSO: 1800/485

REGIONAL

LOCAL CP OFFICIALS CENSURED, SACKED FOR COVERUP ATTEMPT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Jun 84 p 1

[Article: "Measures Taken"]

[Text] The CC of the Uzbekistan CP notes that in the article, "Strong Man from Mirzachul'", published in the newspaper PRAVDA on 25 April of this year, shortcomings in the work of the Mirzachul' party raikom with respect to the rayon newspaper DOSTYK were correctly and opportunely revealed.

The party raikom and its secretaries, Comrades B. Serikov and Z. Yu. Umarova, weakened the management of their press organs instead of rendering active support through principled conduct. The newspapers began to shield the illegal activities of the head of the workers' supply department's territorial administration of "Dzhizakstepstroy", B. Toksanbaev, who had victimized the journalist S. Saparova for her criticism of shortcomings in trade work.

The party raikom approached the examination of repeated signals from the editorial board about the facts of formal replies in an unprincipled manner, as they did with respect to the ignoring of critical newspaper statements by the managers of a number of rayon organizations and institutions, violations of socialist law by workers in the rayon department of internal affairs, and rudeness and arrogance on the part of the director of the S. Segizbayev sovkhoz, P. Zhunisbekov, toward journalists. The Dzhizakskiy Party Obkom also did not take the necessary and timely measures to cut off incorrect reactions to statements in the press, although statements from the workers on the Mirzachul' rayon newspaper had been received earlier.

The CC of the Uzbekistan CP recognized the article, "Strong Man from Mirzachul'" as correct and timely.

It was taken into cognizance that by decision of the bureau of the Dzhizakskii party obkom regarding the weakening of party management of the editorial board of the rayon newspaper, the unprincipled attitude toward its articles and liberalism with respect to suppressions of criticism and a reduction in the authority of the press organ had occurred. Because of this, the first secretary of the Mirzachul' party raikom,

Comrade B. Serikov, was given a stern reprimand with notation on his registry card, while the Secretary of the Party Raikom, Comrade Z. Yu. Umarova, received a reprimand and notation on her registry card. For the use of unlawful methods in order to avenge himself on the journalist for the satirical article, "Drunk on Gold," for blackmail against the rayon newspaper employee, S. Saparova, and victimization of her because of her criticism, and for violations of the laws of Soviet trade in the system of the workers' supply department, Communist B. Toksanbaev was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU and relieved of his post. For lack of reaction to the critical articles in the rayon newspaper, for rudeness and arrogance in his relations with members of the press, for acts of squandering land for private plots and not providing for fulfillment of the plan in crop rotation, the director of the S. Segizbaev sovkhoz, P. Zhunisbekov, was removed from his post and was given a stern reprimand, with notation on his registry card.

The Mirzachul' Party Raikom and the Administration of Internal Affairs of the Dzhizak obispolkom were ordered to consider the question of calling to party and administrative account the head of the rayon department of internal affairs, Ya. Temirov, for gross violations of socialist law as expressed in the unobjective examination of slanderous statements about the journalist S. Saparova and her victimization for criticism, as well as for weakening the political education work among the staff of the department. For victimizing the journalist S. Saparova because of her criticism, the deputy director of the Mirzachul' Rayon department of Internal Affairs, K. Beisekov, received a stern reprimand with notation on his registry card. The UVD obispolkom was ordered to consider the question of utilizing him in his post. The oblast' agricultural-industrial association, as of 15 June of this year, was ordered to examine the state of work in the sovkhozes of the Mirzachul' rayon regarding the introduction of crop rotation, the rational utilization of land, the facts of its illegal apportionment for private plots and conveying the materials on the guilty parties to the investigative agencies.

The editorial boards of newspapers and journals and Gosteleradio of the Uzbek SSR have been ordered to take measures for raising the ideological content and effectiveness of what appears in the press and in television and radio broadcasts. They must strengthen the clarification of imminent questions of economic and cultural construction, the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive experience. They must provide wide publicity for the work of party, soviet and economic organs and social organizations. They must develop to the utmost principled criticism of shortcomings, strive to gain necessary and timely information regarding practical measures taken with regard to press articles and struggle decisively against formal replies.

It has been suggested to the party obkoms, gorkoms and raikoms that they strengthen the management of the means of mass information and propaganda, that they continuously monitor the political direction and content of newspapers and television and radio broadcasts, and that they raise their combativeness and authority. They must render active support to principled press articles and decisively put an end to formal replies, red tape, suppression of criticism and persecution because of it.

REGIONAL

LOCAL PARTY'S DENIAL OF MEMBERSHIP TO TEACHER QUESTIONED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 84 p 2

[Article by L. Rumyantsev: "Refusal of Admission..."]

[Text] "Submitted... admission of the geography teacher, L. A. Zav'yalova, candidate for CPSU membership. Resolved: unanimously accepted.

4 March 1983"

"Submitted... admission of the geography teacher, L. A. Zav'yalova as a party member. Resolved: admission refused due to lack of the necessary number of recommendations.

23 March 1984"

(From the minutes of the meeting of the primary party organization of middle school No 96, Alma-Ata.)

A letter from the 27 year old teacher, Lyudmila Aleksandrovna Zav'yalova, arrived at the editorial board 2 months before the meeting that dashed her hopes of a happy conclusion to her candidate period. Lyudmila Aleksandrovna wrote her troubled lines at night, and she wrote sincerely. Somehow, one believed this immediately. Later, in the course of her examination, the presentiment was confirmed: there is nothing false in the letter, it is truthfully written:

Pain, anger and bewilderment have forced me to write a letter to the editorial board. I wanted to do this 2 weeks ago. But I thought: the party meeting at which I will report as a candidate will be held and everything will be put in its proper place and be cleared up; I am taking the events in school too seriously on the eve of my entry into the party. A party meeting took place today and I left school shocked and offended to the depths of my being.

What was it at the meeting in school No 96 that caused so much worry and indignation to the young candidate for party membership?

But first, let us digress.

Once upon a time, there was a bright, mischievous girl named Lyuda Zav'yalova who lived among the houses and gardens near Tashkentskaya Ulitsa. She was born here, grew up and went to school. She fell so in love with School routine that she could not imagine her life outside of its walls. She had no hesitation after graduation: only the pedagogical institue. After completing it, she returned to her old school as a geography teacher. She got married. She had two children; there was peace and tranquility at home. She matured, but her character remained the same, a komsomol character--open, ardent and inventive. For that reason, she fitted into the school easily.

Her principal retired; he was an experienced pedagogue, a veteran of the war and of labor, with whom the teacher felt comfortable and confident. A new principal arrived--Nelli Stepanovna Rakitina, a qualified worker with a long service record. There was no noticeable friction with her. More than that, Lyudmila felt that she liked her new director. Her strength grew from this, and she tried harder. Then there was the memorable conversation in the director's office:

"Lyudmila Aleksandrovna, it is time that you thought about joining the party."

"But am I ready?"

"I think you are ready. According to the regulations, I cannot give you a recommendation: we have been working together for less than a year. But I will certainly support your candidature at the party meeting.

Zav'yalova is a conscientious teacher who fulfills all of her duties accurately. I support the recommendation to accept her as a candidate for membership in the CPSU.
(From the speech by N. Rakitina, director of the school, at the party meeting on 4 March 1983.)

It is as though wings grow on a person when he is shown great trust, when people believe in him and hope for him. Lyudmila Zav'yalova went to school now as though on holiday. She undertook any sort of work and fulfilled social responsibilities enthusiastically. She was simultaneously a member of a public control group, deputy chairman of the trade union committee, director of the method association, editor of a wall newspaper.... For a long time, for a very long time, no one from this group had been accepted into the party. For that reason, everyone watched the young candidate intently, even jealously, and they were satisfied. The director, N. Rakitina, was also among these and reiterated her appreciation with a written declaration for L. Zav'yalova on Teacher's Day.

When, then, did the first storm clouds appear in the cloudless sky? Why did the attitude toward L. Zav'yalova begin to change 4 months before her admission to the party--not in the educational group, but, so to speak, in her party surroundings?

I will not attempt to describe at this point the complicated interrelationships that took shape up to this time in school No 96. As to who was right and to what extent, as to who was guilty and of what, is not for me to judge, but rather, in all likelihood, this will be done by a commission of qualified inspectors from the Auezovskiy Rayon under whose jurisdiction the school falls. But the facts are clear: a deep conflict between the director, N. Rakitina, on the one hand and a group of teachers on the other, at first of a hidden and invisible character, directly reflected on the fate of the candidate for party membership, L. Zav'yalova.

It must be admitted that it happens that, sensing a complicated situation in a group, bending with the wind, some candidate or other on the eve of his entry into the party does not consider it disgraceful to remain silent where silence is not required, to support once more the administration even if it is not correct: in a work, not to stick his neck out. But such a position was alien to L. Zav'yalova. She did not play up to anyone, did not say yes all the time; she considered that this was the way for a person to behave who was preparing to become a communist. Several times at meetings and pedagogical soviets, she sharply criticized the director of the school. This was enough for the latter to abruptly change her attitude toward her. Unfortunately, the secretary of the party organization, a teacher of Russian language and literature, I. Pinigina, "went along" with N. Rakitina and, as in many cases, showed a lack of principles.

L. Zav'yalova writes:

At a party meeting on 13 January, my report was heard as a candidate for membership in the party. The meeting was held in camera, and the teachers who had wanted to participate were asked to leave the room. What rude and, more importantly, unjust words I heard! They said that I was a truant, a formalist, a persistent defaulter in membership dues.... In sum, they gave me to understand that I had no place in the party, that I would be refused admission in March. Only the former secretary of the party organization, N. Shcherbakova, came to my defense. She said that instead of a benevolent conversation with a young candidate, open persecution was occurring.

What sort of party organization is this where such unworthy devices are permitted? Let us describe its composition in detail. There are eight registered party members, three of whom are pensioners. (I. Pinigina remarks that "They appear at meetings very rarely and are unaware of school matters.") A short time ago, a young physical education teacher was hired, a communist named V. Zhurbu, who was even less aware of these matters. Despite this, however, he immediately and unconditionally occupied a

managerial position, where he demonstrated his "prudence". Further, the director and secretary of the party bureau are N. Shcherbakova and military instructor I. Rudyaga, a retired officer, who declared in the teachers' staff room, "I don't care."

Such is the group. It was not difficult for N. Rakitina, in her dealings with it, to move party and school affairs in the direction that she wanted. But Lyudmila Zav'yalova did not want to and could not stand in the same harness with the director, so she did not receive her missing third recommendation from N. Rakitina, nor from I. Pinigina, nor from I. Rudyaga who, a year before, had given her one without a second thought.

Why did the editorial board, which had received L. Zav'yalova's letter 2 months before she was refused admission to the party, come to her defense immediately? The answer is simple: in order not to infringe upon party democracy, not to push the school party organization to a known decision. But the workers of the Auezovskiy party raikom were asked to investigate the unhealthy situation prevailing in school No 96. L. Zav'yalova herself, by the way, did not appeal in that direction, nor did N. Shcherbakova, a communist with long service, a former secretary of the school party organization for many years and a mathematics teacher. But the fate of the young teacher did not affect the workers of the raikom apparatus.

"Something is always happening among school staffs," an instructor in the division of organizational party work, K. Kulebayeva, told me. "Various misunderstandings arise when we have an admission from there."

"By the way, about Zav'yalova," said the head of the department of propaganda and agitation of the raikom, N. Ibraev, at a meeting, "She could have been a bit more modest on the eve of her admission. But she writes to you and goes to the raikom, to the first secretary. She cooked her own goose...."

So apparently Zav'yalova is guilty because she fights for justice and for herself in the final analysis.

In the Basic Directives for Reform of General and Professional Schools, it states: "The management of educational institutions by party organizations must be improved. The task of the latter is to unite and strengthen pedagogical groups, establish a healthy moral and psychological climate and an atmosphere of genuine creativity, collegiality and responsibility. It is imperative to increase the party stratum among teachers...."

In the example of L. Zav'yalova--teacher in middle school No 96--we see that this area of party work has been fairly neglected. There are many problems involved in a private conflict, in the fate of a concrete individual. In particular, there are problems of management in small school party organizations and the course in them of the candidate period for future communists.

REGIONAL

UZBEK CP CC BURO ON ECONOMICS, IDEOLOGY

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Jun 84 p 1

[Unsigned report: "In the Buro of the Uzbek CP CC"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro adopted a decree concerning preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. Measures were mapped out to enhance the labor and political activities of the masses, to perfect indoctrination work, and develop socialist competition in honor of the great Victory, and to strengthen concerns for war and labor veterans.

The buro examined the activities of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Trade and Uzbekbrlyashu [Tsentrrosoyuz] with respect to fulfilling the retail commodities turnover plan. Speakers emphasized the necessity of stepping up efforts against mismanagement, losses, waste, and pilferage of commercial-material goods, also of improving trade services for the rural population, and increasing the procurement and processing of agricultural goods. The buro directed oblast, city, and rayon party committees to undertake measures to strengthen organizational and political work in the primary party organizations in the trade and public food service systems, to enhance the vanguard role of party members, comply strictly with Leninist principles governing the selection, placement, and training of cadres, impose higher standards on them, reinforce enterprises of the sphere of services by the addition of CPSU and Komsomol members, recruit more women and young people in the sector, and decisively clean out dishonest workers who have compromised themselves. It is essential in every way to perfect the style and methods of administration, to manifest greater firmness and principles, and to enhance ideological-indoctrination work in the labor collectives. The appropriate directives were also given to law enforcement organs and people's control committees.

The Central Committee Buro listened to reports by the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Education concerning the training and indoctrination of scientific-pedagogical cadres in light of the decisions of the 7th Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum (1982) and Glavtashkentstroy with regard to enhancing the role and responsibility of engineering-technical cadres for engineering preparation and organization of construction work, as well as boosting labor productivity in light of the demands of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. The decrees dealing with these matters map out concrete measures aimed at strengthening work with cadres in public education and construction.

The meeting of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro examined and adopted decisions on a number of other matters in the republic's economic and social life.

REGIONAL

TURKMEN CP CC BUREO DISCUSSES REPUBLIC ECONOMICS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 3 Jun 84 p 1

[Unsigned report: "In the Bureau of the Turkmen CP CC"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the buro of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee discussed the question of the tasks of party, soviet, and economic organs of the republic with respect to overfulfilling plans of production and procurement of grain, feed, and livestock products in 1984. It was noted that the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not making full use of possibilities for the maximum accumulation of grain and feed crops, timely and high-quality harvesting, increased livestock productivity, and increased amounts of livestock products. Tending and mowing of alfalfa fields are lagging considerably, also hay, haylage, and coarse feed procurement. There are shortcomings in the harvesting of winter cereal crops, and the level of utilization of grain combines is extremely low. The root feed crop sowing plan has not been fulfilled.

The Central Committee Buro has directed the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, republic ministries and departments, obkoms and raykoms, obispolkoms and rayispolkoms, managers and specialists, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz primary party organizations to undertake the necessary measures for unconditional fulfillment of assigned additional targets with regard to the production and procurement of grain and feeds, to increase the personal responsibility of cadres for fulfillment of plans and additional targets, and to demand a strict accounting for oversights and disorganization in economic work.

Discussing the efforts of Turkmen SSR Gosstroy with regard to accelerating the adoption of scientific-technical progress in capital construction in light of the familiar CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "Measures To Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy," the buro noted that efforts carried out in the republic to adopt the achievements of scientific-technical progress and advanced experience in construction work, increase the volume of scientific applications, improve project-estimate endeavors, reduce labor-intensiveness, and raise the level of industrialization of construction have not, in terms of scale, tempo, and results, kept pace with the higher tasks assigned to the sector by the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. It was noted that Gosstroy and organizations departmentally subordinate to it have yet to deal responsibly with the selection of architectural-planning decisions, and author's supervision is not being implemented satisfactorily. Inadequate use

is being made of the capacities of enterprises of the construction industry, no experimental construction is being carried out, and quality standards are not being met. Existing shortcomings were also pointed out in the work style and methods of the republic's Gosstroy. Speakers emphasized the necessity of more vigorous efforts on the part of Gosstroy, as well as high principles and steadfastness of apparatus party members, in developing everything that is new and progressive in construction work. The decision that was adopted indicated concrete tasks facing Gosstroy in light of the party's and government's decrees on improving construction work.

The Central Committee Buro examined the question of providing sponsorship aid in the construction of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and directed the appropriate ministries and departments as well as the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee to undertake practical measures to strengthen sponsorship aid in carrying out the construction program. The republic's construction ministry was directed to undertake additional measures to man the project with labor resources and engineering-technical personnel.

The buro examined the Turkmen CP Central Committee's measures with regard to implementing critical remarks, requests, and proposals made at the 16th Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum.

Participants in the meeting examined a number of other matters concerning the economic and ideological work of party and economic organs in the republic.

6854
CSO: 1830/527

REGIONAL

UZBEK COUNCIL FOR WORK WITH WOMEN HOLDS FIRST MEETING

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 May 84 p 1

[Article: "Heightened Labor and Social-Political Activity of Women"]

[Text] A Republic Council for Work Among Women has been formed in Uzbekistan with the purpose of coordinating the multi-faceted activities associated with the communist training of women in Uzbekistan by mobilizing their efforts to achieve the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Its first meeting was held 19 May under the chairmanship of Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee R. Kh. Abdullayeva.

The meetings approved the Council's statute, and defined its tasks: The study of problems concerned with increasing the labor and social-political activity of women, their broad involvement in socialist competition, the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, assistance in improving their working, living, and leisure-time conditions, propaganda and observance of Soviet law on women's rights, motherhood and child care. The Council is obliged to facilitate improvements in the operation of public health, national education, and social security institutions.

General Secretary of the Almalyk Mining, Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, V. M. Segedin, spoke at the meeting about the work of the partkom and the combine's administration for creating the essential working, living, and leisure-time conditions of working women and their active participation in public life. The Uzbek SSR Minister of Light Industry M. Kh. Kurbanov reported to the meeting's participants about what measures were being taken by the republic's Ministry of Light Industry to work out new clothing and footwear models for women and children and how those projects were being put into production.

The Council approved the work plan and the basic themes of republic scientific-practical conferences and symposia on problems of labor and social-political activity of women.

6289
CSO: 1830/485

REGIONAL

TURKMEN SCIENTIST FEARS DROP IN RURAL BIRTHRATE

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 24 May 84 p 3

[Article by Sh. Kadyrov, scientific associate of the sociological research sector of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences under the rubric "Reform: Questions of Sociology": "Everything Begins with the Family"]

[Text] Great importance is attached to the role of the family in forming the young new-generation in the "Basic Directions for the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." "...The role of school is great, but it does not bring up the young person alone. Fundamental character traits and basic goals of life--all this is established in the family," stated K.U. Cherenko at the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Everyone concerned with educational goals can only be glad of the vitality, breadth, and multidimensionality of the measures provided by the new school document. And there is an equal amount of work for both teachers, scholars, production managers, and workers of housing organizations.

It is gratifying that the suggestion of the scholars of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences to add a title to Section V and list it as "Public and Family Upbringing of Children and Juveniles" was supported and adopted in the final version of the document. This suggestion was proposed during the discussion of the Reform Draft. A genuine demonstration of democraticism, an increase in the effectiveness of scientific research and, of course, that special role which naturally belongs to the family are reflected in this example.

As a scholar, I want to concentrate on one of the social functions without which the family is inconceivable--the problem of birthrate as a composite part of our Soviet demographic policy.

At the 26th CPSU Congress its basic direction was specified as a concern for the family, newlyweds, and working mothers. A program of additional measures with the goal to "create the most favorable conditions for population growth and upbringing of the younger generation" was adopted.

Presently the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. I participated in a conference of sociologists and demographers which recently took place in Armenia. Data from sociological research was cited: more than 80 percent of the women indicated that the administration at their place of work does not make a distinction between women with several children and the rest of the workers. As is apparent from another inquiry, women consider a shortened work schedule an essential condition, for example, for the birth and upbringing of the third child in the family.

The words of K.U. Chernenko at the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were addressed to the managers of labor collectives who have not assimilated the dialectics of combining family and public concerns: "We will judge how successfully a particular manager works not only by the full and timely fulfillment of plan indicators and contract obligations, but also by actual efforts directed at improving the work and living conditions of the people."

We see the introduction of a part-time work schedule as one of the basic conditions for the labor collectives in assisting the family in the upbringing of children.

The program goal of our demographic policy, that a medium size family should live better than a small family in all respects, but not worse than a large family, can be realized only if women having or desiring to have three or four children have the opportunity to participate in public production on a schedule that is comfortable for them.

There are pre-conditions for wide introduction of a part-time work schedule for women in the enterprises of the Central Asian regions. First of all, here they traditionally specialize in the production of agricultural raw materials for light industry, whose enterprises connected with the creation of agricultural cities and complexes will be nearer the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The wide extent of the large family in this republic eliminates the problem of staffing an appropriate brigade of mothers, workers wanting to work under the given schedule. Finally, but not last in importance, is the fact that the native population which is maintaining devotion to a high birthrate is the basic source for replenishing enterprises with workers.

However, it would be a mistake to think that "multi-child" Central Asia, and in particular Turkmenistan, because of the supposed immutability of national traditions does not have the prospect of changing into a region of small families. Calculations and estimations of our colleagues in the main scientific institutes and sociological research studying the rural family, which are being carried out in our academy, show that such a phenomenon has not only been observed, but is also developing rapidly.

The tendency toward a drop in birthrate observed in Turkmenistan is caused by the present national family's digression from the traditions of unlimited birthrate. Moreover, whereas the transition from unlimited birthrate to a planned birthrate took almost a quarter of a century in the

republic's demographic history, the transition to the next medium type family which already differs qualitatively from the large family, will probably be shorter. Incidentally, the prominent demographers and sociologists at the All-Union Conference on the Problems of the Family in a developed Socialist Society anxiously discussed this.

In connection with this I would especially like to talk about the work of mass information media which was called on to propagandize the ideas of our demographic policy. The passiveness in this work is connected with the erroneous and obsolete idea that there are no such demographic problems in "multi-child" Central Asia and that the large family itself, which is mistaken for a national tradition, is regarded as something eternal. Actually such views have nothing in common with science and not even with reality itself today. Of course, the mass information agencies are not capable by themselves of resolving the numerous problems arising in the daily life of our society, but they do have the power to prevent them from beginning.

The question of increasing the demands made by various public organizations on parents in the upbringing of their children was reflected upon. Already now it is possible to foresee an undesirable psychological frame of mind. The fewer children in the family, the less society will hold parents responsible for mistake. In their upbringing. Meanwhile, it is no secret that it is the family with several children that has the high educational potential. In this connection there is no excuse for the fact that in Turkmenistan, where the expanded family is a tradition, there is not a single film, major work of artistic literature, nor any regular television or radio broadcasts tellings about the microclimate, the advantages and difficulties in the development of such a family, and its role in the upbringing of the younger generation and in the socio-demographic development of the country. The latter does not seem unnecessary if you take into account that the social necessity for school reform is raised not only by the objective laws regulating mature socialism, but also by the specific historical peculiarities of the demographic development of our country in the current decade.

12585
CSO: 1830/477

REGIONAL

TURKISH SUPREME COURT DISCUSSES BRIBERY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 6 Apr 84 p 3

[TurkmenINFORM report on plenum of TuSSR Supreme Court]

[Text] The TuSSR Supreme Court, meeting in regular plenary session, discussed materials pertaining to the generalization of lower court rulings in bribery cases.

The plenum noted that bribery is a dangerous crime which must be resolutely combatted by creating around bribers an atmosphere of intolerance and public condemnation.

Analysis of court decisions in this category of cases revealed that the courts of the republic, guided by the directives of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the 22nd Congress of the Communist party of Turkmenia, have achieved some success in the struggle against bribery. Anti-bribery laws are, in most cases, invoked correctly, the courts are pressing for better quality preliminary investigations, devoting more attention to the causes that breed bribery and taking steps to eliminate them.

At the same time there are instances when the actions of the accused are incorrectly qualified and the deadlines for hearings are not met; prophylactic work among labor collectives to explain the law is inadequate.

The resolution adopted by the plenum clarifies for the courts the questions discussed and instructs them to take measures to eliminate all shortcomings.

12258
CSO: 1330/471

REGIONAL

TURKmen UNION COUNCIL IT IS TAKING WORKER COMPLAINTS

Ashkhabad TURKmenIAZKHA in Russian 10 APR 84 p22

[Article by A.Saventov, responsible secretary, Turkmen Council of Labor Unions: "Complaints must be promptly reviewed"]

[Excerpts] The Central Committee has of late promulgated several decrees aimed at further improving work with toilers' letters. These decrees assign personal responsibility to management and officials for work with citizens' letters, proposals and verbal requests, prompt measures to resolve the issues raised and timely written responses to the plaintiffs.

"To hear the words coming from the workers' midst, from the front line of socialist construction, to hold council with the working man," said General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade A.N.Chernenko, " - this today must be a prime obligation, a deep inner compulsion of every communist administrator."

In reviewing the letters that come in we usually send union workers to the scene. About 80 percent of the letters received by the Turkmen Council of Labor Unions (TSPS) were reviewed by our to personnel on the scene.

The workers of the Maryskiy drainage equipment Plant filed a complaint to the effect that they still, after two years, had not been given their bonus pay for 1981. The juridical inspection of the TSPS conducted a brief investigation and handed down a positive decision on the matter.

In November 1983 A.P.Molesnikova, a worker at the production association "Ashzhabdukhles", lodged a complaint: her request for annual leave which she needed to look after a sick child, was turned down, so she was forced to quit. In addition, it took a whole month to collect her severance pay and labor book. This complaint was checked out and discussed at a session of the presidium of the republic committee of the Food Workers Union. For bureaucratic treatment of the worker and flagrant violation of labor laws the presidium obligated the director general of the association to subject those responsible for the red tape to administrative sanctions. This was done. The director of the bakery and confectionery

complaint J.K.Vetekhina and the chief of personnel O.P.Koglova were strictly reprimanded. A good decision.

In August 1983 a complaint was received from N.Ye.Polyakova, engineer with Mobile Mechanized Column - 2 (PMK-2) of the "Kopet-dag sel'stroy" construction trust. In it she reported that PMK-2 was systematically breaking the payday deadline and that annual leave schedules were not available. This complaint was handled by a specially created commission which conducted a thorough investigation. Its findings: PMK-2 was in continuous violation of several articles of the collective contract - the administration often delayed disbursal of wages, granted annual leave to workers and employees at its own discretion, the collective had no rules of procedure or job descriptions to go by.

All the complaints received by the TSPS are analyzed and generalized. Last year 11 percent of these had to do with violations of labor laws in the process of firing a worker, with the majority of the complaints emanating from light industry, construction, construction materials and agriculture. Over 30 percent of the letters involve various aspects of social security, pensions and the issuance of vouchers for sanatorium and resort medical treatment or rest. 13 percent of the letters are requests for better living conditions.

This information allows labor union organs to, in point the branches of the republic's economy where things are not going well, to determine the measures necessary to exercise better control and render assistance to plant labor union committees and management in eliminating negative phenomena.

The handling of labor union organs of incoming letters of complaint and the organization of face-to-face interviews at the enterprises themselves make for greater participation by workers in the administration of the country. It is, however, too early to rest on our laurels. Superficial investigation of complaints has not been eradicated yet, and now and then elements of bureaucratic red tape are manifested. This concerns, in particular, the Chardjou oblast trade union committee. In spite of the fact that the TSPS twice reminded the oblast committee presidium and its leadership of the need to improve their handling of complaints, no changes for the better have so far occurred.

In 1983 27 applications by citizens were processed there well beyond the time limit prescribed by law, though most of them could easily have been disposed of in two or three days. The Chardjou oblast trade union committee receives a very large number of repeat complaints, which is a sure sign that applications are here reviewed superficially and not impartially.

Earlier this year the auditing commission of the oblast trade union committee conducted an official examination of the way complaints and examinations are handled here. Many instances were brought to light of a formal, bureaucratic approach to complaints. For example, the workers of the Moscow Cotton Seafarin' Factory wrote a collective complaint to the newspaper TASS to the effect that the administration of the factory was systematically violating labor laws. The investigation of the complaint was assigned to the obkom of the textile and light industry workers union. This body, however, failed to get to the heart of the matter and undertook no measures to put an end to violations of the work and rest routine. Simply put, it drew up a wordy report - and everything stayed the same. The workers once again wrote to TASS - this time the trade union obkom came up with a pro forma report and the administration continued in its systematic violation of labor laws. The workers wrote TASS a third letter of complaint, and only then did the trade union obkom decide to check everything out and rectify the situation. The conflict was resolved, but how? Nobody at all was punished for this flagrant bureaucratism and red tape, in fact, the trade union obkom did not even attempt to do so.

A major drawback in the work of some oblast trade union councils and sectorial trade union committees is the fact that the number of applications and complaints related to dismissals, wages, norm-setting and annual leaves shows no reduction year after year. As previously, many suits are filed with people's courts seeking reinstatement on the job. In 1960 there were 204 such suits, with 112 resolved in favor of the plaintiff, whereas for 1963 the figures are 264 and 107 respectively. This witnesses to serious shortcomings in the work of trade union organs, especially plant committees. Some of the latter give their consent to dismissals without looking into the reasons and do not make adequate use of the Law on labor collectives to educate the workforce and strengthen labor discipline.

The TASS recently analyzed the performance of republic trade union organs in dealing with letters, complaints and applications in 1963 and handed down a wide-ranging decision aimed at further improving this work. Trade union councils and plant committees are called upon to exercise strict control over the handling of complaints, be stricter and more demanding, with officials breaking established rules and publicize instances of bureaucratism and red tape. It is very important for each and every trade union organ to carry out its duties in a purposeful and efficient manner.

12258
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REGIONAL

MEETING OF THE C.P. CC BUREO DISCUSSED ECONOMY, JUDICIAL...

KASHTAKHABAD TURKmenSKAYA ASSOC in Russian 20 May 64

[Text] The Bureau of the C.P. Central Committee held a regular meeting, to discuss a number of issues related to the development of the republic's economy and the further improvement of intraparty work.

In reviewing the situation with regard to fulfilling the republic's capital construction plans for 1964, the Bureau noted that in accordance with plans for socio-economic development, a large-scale program of industrial construction is currently being implemented, many new projects for the agroindustrial complex are being erected, new consumer-sector enterprises built, the volume of housing and socio-cultural construction is on the rise. The value of fixed capital facilities commissioned since the start of the five-year plan solely with state capital-investment funds stands at 2.6 billion rubles, which exceeds the figure for the same period of the tenth five-year plan by 22 percent.

At the same time the Bureau drew the attention of ministry and department heads, republic party and soviet organs to the fact that fulfilment of this year's capital construction plans is lagging behind, the tempo of work on many important underway construction projects is inadequate, there are shortcomings in work organization, in utilizing available reserves and possibilities, advanced work methods are being introduced far too slowly. The resolution adopted on the subject enumerates concrete measures aimed at a cardinal improvement in the organization of construction work. Construction ministries and departments are enjoined to utilize scientific and technological achievements, progressive know-how and the prime contract method to increase the effectiveness of capital investments, accelerate the tempo of construction and liquidate the work arrears that has developed since the start of the year. The party committees of the republic have been instructed to raise the level and the efficacy of organizational and politico-educational work in construction organizations, to tie it closer to specific production goals and the process of strengthening work and functional discipline. They must demand more of construction project heads in the matter of improving production and housing conditions for their workers, enhancing the workers' craftsmanship, and creating a stable labor collective.

The Buro of the CPBu Central Committee heard a report by the Kunya-Rach party raykom on its implementation of the decisions taken by the May (1962) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The resolution adopted on this score stresses the need to raise the level of party and political work in the matter of mobilizing the toilers of the rayon to continue the implementation of the Food Program, take persistent measures to intensify production, elevate agriculture and animal husbandry to a higher plane, incorporate the achievements of science and progressive experience. The raykom was obligated to strengthen its influence over the work of the city council, always concern itself with the selection, deployment and education of cadres, especially middle-level administrative personnel, enhance the role of primary shopfloor party organizations, party groups and party organizers, make fuller use of political enlightenment and economic education to raise the level of economic knowledge among cadres.

The meeting also discussed the question of further improving the work of the rayon press and the city newspaper. It was stressed that these constitute an important link in the republic system of mass information and propaganda, an effective instrument in the hands of party committees in their political supervision over the economic, social and cultural development of the rayons and the city, a powerful means of educating the masses in a communist spirit and shaping public opinion, an irreplaceable source of information about local affairs. The Buro instructed the Ashkhabad raykom and raykom of the CPTu to raise the supervision of their newspapers to a higher level, lend able guidance to their work. Measures were drawn up aimed at eliminating shortcomings in the work of the rayon press and the city paper. Also determined were the tasks facing them in the matter of expounding the internal and foreign policies of the Communist party, mobilizing the masses to successfully implement the directives of the 20th congress of the CPSU, the 22nd congress of the CPBu, the decrees promulgated by the June, December (1963) and February, April (1964) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Buro discussed several other questions as well and adopted an appropriate resolution in each case.

12258
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REGIONAL

BALTIC SEA ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION COMMISSIONER INTERVIEWED

Tallinn SIRI JA VASAR in Estonian No 19, 11 May 84 p 13

[Interview with Harald Velner, secretary general of the Baltic Sea Environmental Protection Commission: "In Defense of the Baltic Sea"]

[Text] Effective protection of the biosphere means essentially protection of life itself. This truth is being grasped more and more extensively; cooperation of peoples and states is expanding more and more in the field of environmental protection.

In 1974 all seven states bordering the Baltic Sea signed in Helsinki a convention dealing with protection of this sea--as environment. After ratification by the participant states the agreement went into effect in 1980. The Helsinki convention, embracing states with different social systems, is the first of its kind in the world; it includes all conceivable forms and manners of pollution of the marine environment, and it is universal.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the agreement, a session of the Baltic Sea Environmental Protection Commission, the organ which keeps track of its fulfillment and implementation, took place in Helsinki on 13-16 March of this year. President Mauno Koivisto of the Republic of Finland delivered the salutatory address. At the session the commission's new secretary general was chosen, TPI [Tallinn Polytechnical Institute] Professor Harald Velner, who, on the occasion of nature protection day, kindly agreed to answer a few questions.

[Question] What is the role of the Baltic Sea Environmental Protection Commission and its secretariat? What are the secretary general's tasks?

[Answer] The commission works out the general courses of activity for environmental protection of the Baltic Sea and prepares suitable decisions. A permanent international secretariat located in Helsinki has been formed for implementation of the decisions. The secretary general is elected for 3 years.

His close assistants are the science secretary (limnologist Terttu Melvasalo of Finland's Environmental Protection Ministry was selected) and the marine secretary (Denmark's Commodore Fleming Otzen). The secretariat must keep in contact with the administrations of the participant states and with their environmental protection organs, and insist that they do what the commission has decided. In addition to the signatory states, I as secretary general must maintain contact with several international organizations such as UNEP [United Nations Environment Program], UNESCO, the marine research organizations IMO [International Maritime Organization] and ICES [International Council for Exploration of the Sea], the marine protection commissions of Paris and Oslo.

As regards the work relations between the secretariat and the chairman (Peter Ehlers of the Federal Republic of Germany was elected to this post for 2 years), the chairman can, to be sure direct the secretariat's attention to one problem or another, but only decisions passed unanimously at a commission session are binding on the secretariat (the consensus requirements).

But as far as strategy for implementation of the commission's decisions is concerned, that is primarily in the hands of the secretariat and the secretary general. I will live in Helsinki this coming summer.

[Question] What is the condition of the Baltic Sea? Is the increase in pollution slowing down? When could this sea begin to be clean?

[Answer] The condition of the Baltic Sea deteriorated sharply after World War II. The amount of pollutants in fish and other marine creatures had in the 1960s increased a hundredfold compared with the prewar level. It was one of the reasons why in the mid-1960s people began to talk seriously about the need to improve conditions.

The first and essential international step in the direction of improvement of our sea's condition was taken in 1968, when a treaty of cooperation was entered into with the Finns, and people began to investigate the condition of the Gulf of Finland with the help of physicochemical and biological measurements, as well as measures to decrease contamination. Two years later a corresponding treaty was also concluded with Sweden: jointly we began to investigate the open sea, and up until today four expeditions have been carried out together.

In 1980 the Baltic Sea Environmental Protection Commission (abbreviation = Helsinki Commission) published a general, scientific monograph which bears the title "The Condition of the Baltic Sea and Its Developmental Tendencies." Over 30 institutes from all seven states participated in the preparation of the named scientific publication. It can be said that in spite of the fact that the load of wastewater in the sea grows steadily larger--after all, the national economy of all states is evolving--as a result of the commission's work, pollution has nevertheless been restrained. This restraint is particularly noticeable in the case of mercury, DDT and PCB--polychlorinated biphenyl, a strong poison which is found, for example, in transformer oils and ship paint. On the decision of the commission, the use of DDT and PCB is now forbidden.

Purification of the cities' wastewaters has advanced considerably, as a consequence of which the sea's organic load has declined. Conditions have improved substantially, for instance, in the Neva estuary and the Stockholm skerries. A powerful, citywide wastewater purification station (1.5 million cubic meters a day) has been completed in Leningrad; two similar ones are under construction. In addition to this, local purification devices, of which 18 are already in operation, have been provided for 28 large factories in that city. Fishing has been restored in the Neva River.

The condition of Tallinn's bay is also better than it was 10 years ago: we have concentrated all the city's wastewaters, we purify them mechanically and chemically, and we discharge them into the sea through a three-kilometer-long underwater pipe at a depth of 26 meters. In the next few years we will have biological purification, too. Pelgurand is again open to vactioners.

Construction of a system of purification devices for district wastewaters is nearing the end in Kohtla-Jarve. Biological purification has likewise been provided; purified water is discharged into the sea with the aid of a 2.5-kilometer-long pipe. Considerable work is under way to reduce the contaminative effect of that city's oil-shale chemical plant: the putting into operation of circulating water use decreases up to 10 times phenol-containing wastes. All told, the improvement of production technology and the recurrent use of polluted and then purified water have very great significance from the standpoint of environmental protection.

In all, nearly a thousand small purifiers, which make possible the biological purification of water, have been constructed in the small cities and rural districts of Estonia.

[Question] How is the situation in Latvia and Lithuania?

[Answer] In Latvia (in the interval 1976-1982) about a thousand purifiers have likewise been set up, chiefly in the countryside. In the recreational zone of the Gulf of Riga, a water protection strip a kilometer wide and adjacent to the shore has been established. Economic activity is limited there. Two large polluters, the Jurmala Cellulose Factory and the Riga Stringpiece Factory, have been shut down.

In Lithuania during the same interval slightly less than 700 purifiers were set up; half of these make biological purification possible. The purity of the water of the Niemen and Pregel rivers has improved appreciably (10-20 times), precisely due to the partial purification of the wastewaters of the cellulose and paper factories. Measures have also been taken to purify the waters of the Kaliningrad Oblast; the condition of Kura Bay has improved, and eutrophication has been checked.

[Question] How effective is the verification of the good working order of purification devices, of the adherence to prohibitions, etc.?

[Answer] The Helsinki Commission establishes limitations through the joint voluntary decision of all the states. This means that each state makes the commitment to supervise itself so that the decisions are carried out in its coastal district. The foundation is ethical. Each state is responsible for its own legislation. There is still no mutual verification. But scientists have made a proposal to begin measuring (verifying) internationally the water's condition within the limits of territorial waters.

As far as oil contamination is concerned--in the case of accidents--The Hague International Court punishes culprits at present. The Helsinki Commission is also investigating whether it is possible to create an effective mechanism for economic sanctions.

If, however, you are asking about the effectiveness of supervision on the national level, then it seems that we have often been too lenient. We do not always punish a concrete culprit but an institution; the fine is borne from one pocket of the state to the other, and the moral effect remains slight. The fine taken from the pocket of a person is also small, and the effect is therefore insufficient.

[Question] How do you think environmental consciousness will develop in our country and elsewhere?

[Answer] The so-called green peace is gathering strength in many states. Also during the last session of the Helsinki Commission, demonstrators made us aware that the Finnish chemical concern "Kemira" contaminates the Gulf of Bothnia so badly that the stocks of herring and sprat there are in jeopardy. (They carried a white coffin, in which there was a large herring.) Generally people in Scandinavia and the other states bordering the Baltic Sea are very concerned about the condition of the environment.

I believe that our environmental consciousness in Estonia has also developed to a rather wide degree. The Estonian Society for the Protection of Nature and the Ministry of Forestry and the Protection of Nature have great accomplishments in this field. The environmental protection commissions of the cities and the rayons have done considerable work recently as well.

In my opinion the greater part of our economic leaders is aware of environmental requirements. The problems begin when it is necessary to choose between some kind of wealth and expenditures made to protect the environment.

The industrialist of a capitalist society takes aim, of course, at profits first and foremost; he cannot squander more money than his competitors on production. If, on the other hand, in his quest for profits he does not comply with environmental needs, the court can close down his business entirely.

I think that the environmental awareness of our industrial leaders is greater than that of our Western colleagues, but the sanctions we have established--in relation to theirs--could be stronger. We should probably give more consideration to the voice of public opinion; it should outweigh narrow governmental interests. (For example, we should have taken cellulose production out of Tallinn long ago, just as our southern neighbors did in Jurmala.)

[Question] Rivers bring together a large part of the marine pollution. Which of the streams flowing into the Baltic Sea are currently the most burdened with pollution?

[Answer] Among the worst polluters are the Vistula and its tributaries, to which the Silesian industrial district belongs. There is a desperate need to reduce the pollution burden of the Vistula right at the sources--in the local business firms. At present this district lags perceptibly behind the others bordering the Baltic Sea.

[Question] Seawater is also polluted considerably through the air. What about acid rain?

[Answer] In recent times the Swedish (but also the Finnish) public has raised its voice about acid rain. "The rains" originate in the Ruhr industrial district and in England. The southwest winds carry them to Scandinavia's waters and soils, covered with granite and poor in lime. The rains in question do not reach us; moreover, acids are neutralized in Estonia's lime-rich soil.

Actually, with respect to many substances, pollution of seawater occurs predominantly through the air. For instance, half of the mercury comes from the air.

[Question] How is the technology developing for the removal of oil pollution in the sea?

[Answer] It is, as before, a hard nut to crack. On 21 November 1981 the English tanker "Globe Assim" spilled into the sea at the Klaipeda harbor 16,000 tons of oil, from which, upon mixture with sand and snow, there arose an asphaltlike mass in the cold. Together with the sand, 600,000 tons had to be cleared away.

Nevertheless, remedies have been created for more normal circumstances. Oil separators are placed on ships. There also exist corresponding ships for gathering in the oil. In the harbors, wastewater is accepted free of charge from arriving (and foreign) ships. This circumstance reduces to a minimum the likelihood that anyone would throw polluted water overboard before arriving in the harbor.

[Question] The purity of the sea depends upon the purity of inland waters. What is the condition of Lake Peipus?

[Answer] Lake Peipus will become clean when the Tartu purification installations (currently in the planning stage) are ready, and when we steer clear of pollution arising from oil-shale mining. The purifier is already in operation at Lake Pihkva.

[Question] Will the Baltic Sea ever be clean again?

[Answer] I am an optimist.

12327
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REGIONAL

NORTH CAUCASIAN INTERETHNIC MARRIAGES STUDIED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 3, May-Jun 84 (signed to press 17 May 84) pp 32-39

[Article by Docent Candidate of Philosophical Sciences T. B. Savina and Docent Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. N. Gasanov: "Interethnic Marriages Under Conditions of the Soviet North Caucasus"]

[Text] Developed socialism opens a new stage in the shaping of a communist type of personality. "And our party," said K. U. Chernenko, "proceeds on the basis that the shaping of the new man is not only a vital goal but also the indispensable condition of communist construction" ("Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983," Moscow, 1983, p 27).

In educating the new type of personality, ideals, and world view a vital role is played by the family. Soviet society places high demands on the home and the level of family indoctrination. This was also a focus of attention at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The authors of the present article dwell on the question of interethnic marriages and their place in the system of the socialist way of life. (The article makes use of the findings of sociological research conducted by the authors in various districts of Dagestan and the North Caucasus.)

Mixed marriages have acquired a new quality under socialism. Because they are a natural consequence of all-round strengthening of the economic and cultural rapprochement of Soviet nations and nationalities, interethnic marriages constitute an important phenomenon in the life of the Soviet people. Mixed marriages exert a positive influence on the process of establishing internationalist, shared Soviet traits in the everyday life of Soviet nations and nationalities, overcoming national limitations.

The rise of interethnic marriages has not been an easy process, as certain people sometimes think. It has been necessary to create essential political and cultural-domestic prerequisites for expanding the practice of mixed marriages. Such prerequisites have come into being during the period of construction of socialism in our country. The very first decrees under Soviet rule concerning abolition of national and religious privileges and restrictions undermined the foundations of national differences that prevailed before and marked the beginning of the rapprochement of peoples in a multi-national country. In the very first stages of the development of socialism,

socialist industrialization and the cultural revolution in districts of the North Caucasus led to the formation of workers' collectives in the cities that were internationalist in makeup. In addition, the establishment of the socialist system of education and the development of science were also accomplished through the close mutual aid of all peoples. The result was the shaping of internationalist training and scientific collectives. At present, for example, representatives of more than 60 nations and nationalities of our country live and work as a harmonious family in Makhachkala. According to the 1979 All-Union Census, Russians total 71,600, Avars 40,200, Kumyks 34,800, Laks 26,600, Darginians 23,100, Lezgiains 18,700, Tats 4,800, Azerbaijanis 4,200, Jews 4,200, Tatars 3,100, Ukrainians 2,800, Tabasaraniens 2,400, and Armenians 1,800 (see Sivokoz, N. I., "Gorkom partii: opyt, problemy, perspektivy" [The Party Gorkom: Experience, Problems, Prospects], Makhachkala, 1982, p 114).

Because of the rapid development of the process of internationalization of all aspects of the social life of the peoples of our country and their all-round rapprochement, mixed marriages have become extensively widespread. The number of such families in urban districts more than doubled in the USSR between 1959 and 1979, and they increased by almost 1.5 times in rural areas. Throughout the country as a whole now, approximately one out of every 6 families is the result of mixed marriage. In 1959, there were 102 ethnically mixed families for every 1,000 families in our country; in 1970 the figure was 135, and in 1979 it was 149 (see "Naseleniye SSSR" [Population of the USSR], Moscow, 1983, p 98).

In 1939, interethnic marriages constituted 5.7 percent of all marriages in Dagestan; in 1970 the figure was 8.6 percent. The share of mixed families among the republic's urban population was 16.6 percent in 1970, 3.9 percent in rural districts (see Kozlov, V. I., "Natsional'nosti SSSR" [Nationalities of the USSR], Moscow, 1975, p 246).

Statistical data as well as research findings attest to the fact that the process of mixed marriages is characterized by a marked tendency toward relative and absolute growth. There were 950 marriages in Makhachkala in 1936, for example, including 203 (21.4 percent) of mixed nationality. A total of 37 (18.2 percent) were between Dagestanians and representatives of other nationalities, while 154 (75.8 percent) were between representatives of other nationalities. Of the 2,662 marriages in Makhachkala in 1964-1965, 460 (17.2 percent) were mixed, including 140 (30.4 percent) between Dagestanians and Russians and 320 (69.6 percent) between representatives of Dagestanian peoples (estimated by N. N. Gasanov based on materials of the Dagestan ASSR ZAGS [Civil Registry]).

According to data provided by S. Sh. Gadzhiev and Z. A. Yankova, 621 (28.9 percent) of the total 2,149 marriages in Makhachkala in 1973 were mixed. This figure included 162 (26.4 percent) marriages between representatives of Dagestanian peoples, 203 (32.5 percent of a total number of mixed marriages) between representatives of non-Dagestanian peoples, 256 (41.1 percent) between Dagestanians and non-Dagestanians, 185 (72.3 percent of the number of marriages of Dagestanians and non-Dagestanians) between Dagestanian men and

non-Dagestanian women, 71 (27.7 percent of the number of marriages between Dagestanians and non-Dagestanians) between Dagestanian women and representatives of other peoples, and Russian-Dagestanian marriages totaled 168 (65.6 percent of the number of marriages between Dagestanians and non-Dagestanians). (See Gadzhiev, S. Sh., Yankova, Z. A., "Dagestanskaya sem'ya segodnya" [The Dagestanian Family Today], Makhachkala, 1978, appendix table 1).

The percentage of inter-ethnic marriages in other cities of the republic is also high. It stands at 24.2 percent of the total number of marriages in Buynaksk, 24 percent in Kaspiysk, 36.7 percent in Kizilyurt, and 23.2 percent in Izberbash. Among urban populations a relatively low percentage of mixed marriages is typical of Khasavyurt (19.1 percent), Ogni (20.6 percent), and Derbent (15.1 percent) (*ibid.*, p 29). According to the 1979 All-Union Census, 13.1 percent of all families in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR were mixed (estimated by T. B. Savina based on materials of the republic files of the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR ZAGS [Civil Registry]). In 1982, one out of every 10 families in Dagestan consisted of representatives of different nations and nationalities (see DAGESTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 28 February 1982).

A rise in mixed marriages is also observed in the republic's rural districts. As is well-known, persons of the local nationality predominate in the villages. For this reason, the percentage of interethnic marriages between representatives of Dagestanian peoples who are closely related in culture and language is high in the rural districts. The percentage of mixed marriages in a number of rural rayons of the republic in 1973 was as follows: 21.7 percent in Babayurtovskiy Rayon, 19.3 percent in Tarumovskiy Rayon, 17.3 percent in Nogayskiy Rayon, 17.0 percent in Derbentskiy Rayon, and 16.8 percent in Kizlyarskiy Rayon (see Gadzhiev, S. Sh., Yankova, Z. A., *op. cit.*, appendix table 1). All rayons in the republic are characterized by a tendency for interethnic marriages to increase. Such highland districts as Botlikhskiy and Rutul'skiy rayons, for example, registered about 300 and 200 interethnic marriages, respectively, in 1970-1981 (see DAGESTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 28 February 1982; data on Rutul'skiy Rayon were gathered by N. N. Gasanov in the rayon civil registry).

The findings of sociological research attest to the fact that the percentage of mixed marriages is lower in rural districts than in the cities. This is due to the following factors. First, the collectivization process there did not bring about any substantial migration in the early stages. Settlements as well as production units such as kolkhozes and sovkhozes retained their predominantly single-ethnos character. An ethnically heterogeneous population came into being only in settlements on ethnic boundaries. Second, the process of restructuring family relations in the village took place much more slowly than in the city. Old customs held out longer in the family and domestic sphere. For this reason, internationalization of the way of life and the increase in interethnic marriages also took place more slowly. Third, it must also be kept in mind that the peoples of the North Caucasus did not pass through the stage of capitalist development. They retained vestigial forms of clan and tribal relations right up to the socialist revolution. This characteristic could hardly fail to exert a restraining effect on the growth of interethnic marriages. Religion exerted a powerful influence on the whole way of life, ruling out marriages between representatives

of different faiths. And customs generally rooted in clan and tribal relations decreed as undesirable any marriage even between representatives of the same nationality belonging to different tribes or clan [tukhum] groups. Another significant factor was the fact that the customs of all the native nationalities of the North Caucasus took practically no account of personal desires. According to custom, young people of different sexes did not meet one another. The question of marriage was decided on the basis of the social position of the bride and groom, their heritage, family kinship, and so on. As a rule, the consent or non-consent of the parties to the marriage was of no essential importance.

In the past, when the patriarchal family predominated, marriages between men of the local nationality and women of other nationalities were considered less reprehensible than those between women of the local nationality and "foreign" men, inasmuch as the woman as a rule accepted the man's religion and customs. Vestiges of this tradition have not yet been eradicated. They are also bolstered by the fact that girls of the local nationality are less affected than boys by processes of migration; they more frequently remain in their native villages and are more subjected to the influence of conservative traditions. Of the total number of Russian-Dagestanian marriages in the cities of Dagestan in 1963, only 15 percent involved Dagestanian women; in 1973 the figure was 25 percent. In 1947, mixed marriages between Lezgian women and representatives of other nationalities totaled only 8.3 percent of the number of mixed marriages of that nationality; the figure was 12.5 percent in 1957 and 16 percent in 1967. The percentage of Kumyk women who enter into mixed marriages is considerably higher. It was 40.7 percent of all mixed marriages involving the Kumyk nationality in 1947, 51.7 percent in 1957, and 51.4 percent in 1967 (see "Kavkazskiy etnograficheskiy sbornik" [Caucasian Ethnographic Collection], vol 4, Moscow, 1969, p 145). This is due to the fact that the composition of the population of the flatland districts of Dagestan is becoming more multiethnic in character, and the process is proceeding more intensively in the Kumyk districts than the Lezgian areas.

These data make it possible to conclude that even in Dagestan the spread of marriages between Dagestanian women and representatives of other peoples constitutes a marked trend, although in some districts, because of the greater strength of national and religious prejudices and the tenacity of old traditions, marriages between Dagestanian women and representatives of non-Dagestanian peoples are a less frequent occurrence. It should also be pointed out that the overall tendency of increasing marriages between Dagestanian women and non-Dagestanians has resulted from the profound changes that have taken place in the psychology and world view as well as the overall spiritual outlook not only of young women but also their parents. And, finally, this has resulted from party and Soviet organs' enormous patriotic and internationalist indoctrination efforts among the masses. According to the Islamic law, a Moslem could marry a woman of another faith only if she accepted Islam, and a man of another faith would have to accept Islam if he wanted to marry a Moslem woman.

As a consequence of our country's social-economic, political, and spiritual development, mixed marriages occupy a definite place in the rise and development of the communist way of life. They facilitate the elimination of

religious-nationalistic vestiges and prejudices. This is a very important factor in the moral and ideological development of the Soviet family. The rise in the number of mixed marriages constitute one of the factors promoting the development and rapprochement of Soviet nations and nationalities. This process reflects the ongoing, deep-seated social-economic and spiritual advances made by our country in the building of communism.

It must be noted that the development of mixed marriages, like the development of bilingualism, is viewed by some citizens in a distorted and one-sided way. They are frequently against mixed marriages, seeing them as obstacles to the preservation of a nation's purity, growth and development (see KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 6 January 1971). Views such as these are not free of nationalist elements.

Certain Moslem preachers, styling themselves the true representatives of "their" nation, sanctify clan-patriarchal, feudal, and religious leftovers as national customs and traditions, claiming that they define and preserve the national identity. Wrongly equating national and religious factors, they preach to the faithful the idea of national exclusiveness and superiority, thereby attempting to preserve outmoded traditions in their consciousness and behavior.

The fact that interethnic marriages depend on overcoming religious vestiges is confirmed by comparing the frequency of mixed marriages in Dagestan and in Chechen-Ingushetia, which has preserved a strong influence of religion and religious authorities on the everyday life of a considerable portion of families there. Interethnic marriages totaled 3.5 percent in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR in 1971 (13.7 percent in the Dagestan ASSR in 1973). The figure for the city of Groznyy that year was 6.6 percent (28.9 percent for Makhachkala in 1973) (estimated by T. B. Savina based on materials of the Dagestan and Chechen-Ingush ASSR republic ZAGS [civil registries]. This not only indicates that outmoded views and customs are holding out longer in the domestic sphere but also that old, reactionary customs and morals are sometimes "unexpectedly" revived. Those who carry on the latter generally motivate their behavior by saying that "it doesn't hurt anyone." In fact, however, outmoded domestic customs and traditions exert a negative influence on all aspects of life, including the strengthening of an internationalist community. "Any attempt to preserve an obsolete 'national identity' [samobytnost'], writes Evenki scientist V. N. Uvachan, "leads to national backwardness and narrowness, a striving to wall oneself off from the highway of world communist civilization and, finally, to stagnation for the sake of preserving an archaic national way of life. Such an attempt inevitably leads to the preaching of ethnic exclusivity and then to nationalism" (quoted in: Kim, M. P., "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost'" [The Soviet People--A New Historic Community], Moscow, 1972, p 236).

The CPSU is conducting a major, all-round effort in the internationalist indoctrination of the masses, to strengthen the unity of the peoples of the USSR. It is waging an uncompromising struggle against the slightest manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The establishment of relations of friendship, trust, and mutual aid among the nations has played and is playing

an enormous role in the development of our society, its economy, science, and culture, providing a gigantic boost to the spiritual development of all our people, all nations and nationalities that make it up. The decree of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum states: "The fraternal alliance of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, their joint labor, ongoing rapprochement, and mutual enrichment of national cultures constitute factors of strengthening the solidarity of the Soviet people, the successful resolution of tasks of indoctrination in the spirit of socialist internationalism" ("Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983," p 72).

Ongoing migration processes in the country, involving the most socially active and mobile segments of the population, especially young people, are expanding opportunities for contacts between peoples of different nationalities--in particular those age categories which play the main role in the formation of new families. Interethnic families promote the obsolescence of old family-domestic traditions and serve to indoctrinate family members in the spirit of friendship and brotherhood among peoples.

In his report at the triumphant meeting dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the USSR, Yu. V. Andropov stated: "The genuine qualitative changes that have taken place in national relations over the past 60 years testify to the fact that the nationality question as we inherited it from the exploitative system has been successfully resolved, resolved definitively and irreversibly. For the first time in history, the country's multinational makeup has been converted from a source of weakness to a source of strength and prosperity" (Andropov, Yu. V., "Shest'desyat let SSSR" [Sixty Years of the USSR], Moscow, 1982, p 9). His report emphasized, at the same time, that as long as a multitude of nations and nationalities exists within the framework of a single state, as long as there are national differences, problems relating to national relations cannot disappear in entirety. His report noted, for example, that the growth of national consciousness--a natural and objective process in our society--can also give rise to negative phenomena such as "national arrogance and conceitedness," a tendency toward exclusiveness, and disrespect toward other nations and nationalities.

A vital role in the struggle against manifestations of nationalistic prejudices must be played not only by social but also home indoctrination. The microclimate in the home largely determines whether the new generation will carry on manifestations of nationalistic vestiges and prejudices or whether it will grow up with strong internationalist convictions, having a profound love for our homeland--the Soviet Union--and an understanding and sense of the equality of nations and peoples as well as the necessity of their community.

Internationalist indoctrination in the home, of course, requires more than just special talks with the children on this theme. It also involves the family's whole lifestyle: whom its members are friendly with and on what principles they choose friends to visit them in the home; how family members evaluate friends in their absence and how they evaluate other people in conversations and interaction with them; what role is played in this by the nationality of a particular person and what evaluations are made in accordance with nationality traits. Reading together in the home, discussion of

movies, radio and television programs, the adults' reaction to political events, and--again--the evaluation of national relations and national problems throughout--all of this subconsciously, unnoticed, gradually, but very profoundly and firmly orients the child's consciousness and behavior, and this influence leaves its mark on his whole life. Children in school, by the same token, also influence their parents with the thoughts, feelings, and moods they bring home from school.

For a better understanding of the characteristics of interethnic marriages and families, they can be divided as follows: Simple marriages between peoples who formerly belonged to the same faith, historically closely related by customs as well as characteristics of marriage and family traditions; and Complex marriages--those between nations and nationalities formerly professing different religions and sharply distinguished in terms of all the above features.

The intensity of the process of internationalization of the way of life is attested not only by the overall growth of the percentage of interethnic marriages but also the rising number of complex marriages in that total. According to statistical data, simple marriages accounted for 30 percent of all interethnic marriages in Makhachkala in 1963, while marriages between Dagestanian nationalities and Russians (the main kind of complex interethnic marriages in the republic) accounted for 28 percent. In 1973 the respective figures were 26.4 and 41.3 percent. In the North Ossetian ASSR, Russian-Ossetian marriages totaled 27.7 percent in 1978. In 1981, the number of simple and complex marriages in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR was almost identical--53 percent simple and 47 percent complex out of the total of interethnic marriages (estimated by T. B. Savina based on materials of the archives of republic ZAGS (civil registries) of the Dagestan, North Ossetian, and Kabardino-Balkar ASSRs).

The question of the stability of interethnic families requires study. Overall, the number of interethnic marriages that break up does not differ substantially from the percentage of single-nationality marriages that break up. According to our observations, however, the percentage of divorces is higher than in single-nationality marriages in interethnic marriages that result when young men of Caucasian nationality who have left home to go to school, find work, or serve in the military marry girls who have not lived in the Caucasus and do not know the customs, traditions, and national characteristics of the region. Such families break up most often when the couple takes up permanent residence in the Caucasus, because of lack of preparedness for life in different ethnic surroundings, inability or unwillingness to understand one another, and differing nationalities of the husband's and wife's relatives.

Interethnic families are more stable, as a rule, when the husband and wife are acquainted with local traditions, customs, and difficulties. In such cases, as a rule, the marriage is well-thought-out and the family is stable. It is appropriate here to quote A. G. Kharchev concerning families of this sort: "...on encountering a number of difficulties along the way, interethnic marriages also possess a certain 'extra potential' for overcoming such

difficulties. We must assume here that the decision to marry a person belonging to another nation is linked to considerable personal responsibility and in principle cannot be undertaken without substantial moral-psychological foundations" (Kharchev, A. G., "Brak i sem'ya v SSSR" [Marriage and Family in the USSR], Moscow, 1979, p 214). The conclusion that interethnic families do not break up more frequently than single-nationality marriages do is also confirmed by other authors' observations (see Guseynov, O. M., "Certain characteristics of the functioning and development of interethnic families," NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 2, 1983, p 78).

Our data also show that the stability of mixed marriages differs in rural versus urban districts. Our observations indicate that mixed marriages break up more frequently in rural districts.

What is the explanation? It is necessary, obviously, to point out a number of factors, including the stronger retention of traditional forms of family and everyday life in the village and the more vigorous influence exerted on the latter by relatives and neighbors. The fact that the family's life is subject to the control of the community's public opinion entails a number of positive consequences, but on interethnic marriages the influence is most often negative. These considerations are to some extent confirmed by the data presented below.

The results of a test survey of interethnic families, conducted by students of the Dagestan State University's Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in 1981 in Dagestan's cities and villages (a total of 65 representatives of interethnic families were questioned), 3 percent consisted of families that had been established for less than 1 year, 16 percent--1-10 years, 32 percent --from 10 to 20 years, and 44 percent--over 20 years. All those who were questioned gave a positive assessment of the interethnic family; 77 percent replied positively to the question as to whether they considered their family stable; 16 percent found it difficult to respond; and only 7.5 percent answered in the negative. As to relations with the families of the husband's and wife's relatives (separately), responses were less encouraging. Only 44 percent of the wife's relatives and 39 percent of the husband's relatives treated the establishment of the family in a positive manner and supported it, while 22 percent of both sides manifested a negative attitude and the remainder did not constitute a definite opinion. The following conclusion is suggested: interethnic families are a natural and progressive phenomenon in our life, supported by the state and by social organizations--"macro public opinion," so to speak. "Micro public opinion," however, the opinion of relatives, friends, and fellow villagers, does not always completely coincide with this official opinion. For this reason, a certain amount of sometimes rather strong resistance to such families must be surmounted not only when the family is being set up (when support is especially needed) but also subsequently. For this reason, the family is in special need of the attention of the social organizations and the collectives where the husband and wife work.

It would be wrong, of course, to think that the indoctrination of internationalism as a personality trait and norm of behavior takes place only in

ethnically mixed families. That kind of indoctrination can and must be provided in single-nationality families as well. But interethnic families provide broad opportunities by virtue of their internationalist structure. But the inculcation of national and internationalist consciousness is not properly harmonized in all mixed families. The orientation of the indoctrination is determined by harmonizing the national and internationalist in the foundations of the interethnic family itself.

As a result of the profound social-economic transformations and enormous indoctrinational efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state, our country has undergone substantial changes in all spheres of life; a new man has been shaped, distinguished by new qualities that are inconceivable under conditions of an antagonist society. These changes have led to the transformation of family and domestic relations. They are being freed from old moralities, traditions, and customs. A communist morality is being established, new, all-Soviet traditions and customs. Family and marital relations are being established on the basis of love, friendship, and mutual respect. A clear manifestation of the profound changes taking place in the spiritual and moral-political life of Soviet people is the steady rise in interethnic marriages.

Reflecting the overall process of the rise and development of a new historic community--the Soviet people--and the creation of a socially homogeneous society, mixed marriages have in turn become a factor in the rapprochement of nations and nationalities. And this role will continue to be strengthened under conditions of the planned and all-round perfection of developed socialism.

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"Nauchnyy kommunizm", 1984

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CSO: 1830/520

REGIONAL

ARCHEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS IN UZBEKISTAN's DZHIZAKSKAYA OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 July 1984 carries on page 4 a 50-word unsigned article title "Preserving Ancient Monuments." According to the article there are more than 140 archeological monuments under state protection in Dzhizak Oblast, many of them discovered by activists in the oblast society for the preservation of monuments. Scientists have begun investigations at several new ones, including Kul'tepa in Farishskiy Rayon and Kaliy-tepa and Astan-tepa in Dzhizak.

WEAK CONTROL LETS UZBEK PRODUCE SPECULATORS THRIVE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 July 1984 carries on page 4 a 1,400-word article titled "The Buyer is the Loser" signed by general correspondents S. Morozov, E. Stepan'yants, N. Kudratov; special correspondents V. Karimov, Yu. Kuz'min, V. Neuburg; correspondents V. Nikolayev, V. Petrovskiy.

"The situation at Uzbekistan's kolkhoz markets is alarming. The link joining field to market shelves is almost lacking in regulation by the state trade and consumer cooperatives. Urgent measures must be taken by the republic Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Inudstry, the Uzbek Consumer Services Ministry, and the oblast executive committees so that fruits and vegetables reach the consumer faster and so that an environment of money-grubbing does not reign in the marketplace."

The article covers fruit and vegetable marketing problems in four areas of the republic: Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, and the Surkhandar'inskaya Oblast. In Tashkent problems in storage, transport, loading and sorting of produce have created striking inequities in price and patterns of distribution resulting in some markets being jammed with people buying expensive but comparatively fresh produce, while other markets are nearly vacant. The "Tashplodovoshch" Association manages 137 stores of which only 35 have telephones. With no phone communication effective distribution is difficult. B. Isakhodzhayev, director of one of the most popular markets--the Farkhadskiy Market--admits that selling from places other than the shelves is illegal, but adds that his market has only 650 trading booths and a clientele of from 100,000 to 120,000 buyers a day. He says he has had no help from the rayon executive committee or the rayon grocery trade in putting in kolkhoz stalls in place of the market's outlets for the Akmal-Ikramovskiy Rayon Grocery Association. M. Mukhamadaliyev, chief of the city administration of kolkhoz markets, supports his observation, saying: "In

the Oktyabr'skiy, Alayskiy, Gospital'nyy, Parkentskiy, Frunzenskiy and other bazaars there are numerous stores selling food and consumer goods, while for all of Tashkent with its two million people there are only 14 kolkhoz stalls and two sovkhoz stalls. And even these are not working at full force. Last year, having agreed to produce 1,830 tons of fruits and vegetables, the farms brought us only 1,494 tons."

"The Central Market of the capital of Uzbekistan, which cost the state more than R600,000, also produces a sad impression by its emptiness," say the authors. They ascribe its difficulties to transportation problems.

In Samarkand speculation has grown out of the failure to conduct a decisive battle against it. Market soviets exist only on paper. At the Bagishamal'skiy Market five speculators were thrown out and as a result, prices went down briefly. One month later, however, when authorities turned the other way, prices began to climb once again.

In Bukhara, note the authors, delivery and distribution problems create a situation in which customers prefer to buy cabbage at the bazaar for 70 kopecks a kilogram rather than for 17 per kilogram at the kolkhoz stall.

In Samarkand some items sell at bazaars for five times the official state prices, and even more. "It is a very strange thing," says the article, "that people living on suburban farms have been trading in fruits and vegetables for over a month now while the farms themselves have been trading in promises. The villagers long ago sowed their private plots, covered them with polyethelene strips, and gathered in the harvest. The same thing is being done with delay on the kolkhoz plots, however. And polyethelene strips are not being used at all. The same goes for fruits. As soon as apricots and plums ripen in the private plots, they are immediately picked and taken off to market. In the state plots, however, the ground is littered with fallen ripe fruit...Markets in the oblast are almost untended. Control is weak."

TASHKENT HOSTS CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 June 1984 carries on page 1 a 300-word UzTAG article titled "The Paternal Concern of the State" announcing the opening on 18 June in Tashkent of a regional meeting of social welfare workers of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. Its participants will be discussing measures for improvement in the organization of care for mothers with large families, war veterans, and pensioners. "Only in Uzbekistan have increased pensions been paid to 323,000 pensioners." Partial pay is being made to 63,000 women now on leave to care for children of less than one year of age. Increased benefits are being received by 90,000 republic "Mother-Heroines." Participants in the meeting will exchange experience and work out recommendations for improving social welfare.

REGIONAL

TASHKENT GROWTH STRAINS GARBAGE REMOVAL CAPACITY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 July 1984 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by V. Petrovskiy titled "A Frank Word on Cleanliness." Petrovskiy says that in general the 26,000-hectare area of Tashkent is in good shape, though, strictly speaking, the cleanliness of a capital city of two million should be nothing short of exemplary, and there is still much to do to achieve this. In the last 9 years the number of refuse-collecting vehicles working in the city has only gone from 635 to 640 while the city's population has grown by almost a half million. As a result what local garbage collectors call "enchanted spots" are on the increase. By this they mean places where excess garbage is surreptitiously dumped and within a few hours of the cleanup efforts of the collectors, garbage has begun to accumulate again.

One situation which complicates trash removal is the lack of telephone communications among offices. "How is one supposed to work without communication? The telephone system of the city and Leninskiy Rayn "Avtodormekhbaz" was paid for long ago but there are still no phones. Telephones of the Akmal-Ikramovskiy Trust function incredibly badly."

POSTHUMOUS AWARD TO MURDERED TASHKENT POLICEMAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 July 1984 carries on page 3 a 350-word article by correspondent G. Figlin titled "Not Sparing Life Itself" in praise of murdered policeman Atakul Egomuv, a thirty-three year old lieutenant of the militia who was knifed to death during an interview with his assailant in which he tried to explain to the latter the constraints of the administrative supervision he was subject to as a result of an earlier conviction. His murderer, Sergey Ostapenko, a 20-year old youth who had been released a few months before after serving a sentence, panicked, killed Egomuv and fled but was arrested in Kiev after a country-wide search.

UZBEK SUMMER YOUTH CAMPS EXIST ONLY ON PAPER

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 July 1984 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by B. Azimbayev titled "On a Paper Foundation." Azimbayev describes an attempt he made to visit five summer youth camps of labor and rest in Tashkent Oblast's Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon. Having failed to locate the camps to which he was given directions, he went to the rayon

office for help. There he learned that of two stationary camps of labor and rest and three mobile ones assigned to the local student production brigades not one existed as such. "In the rayon office there are documents on the involvement of children in camps of labor and rest, in which it says that five camps have been created here. In all, according to these papers, the camps include 1,040 people: 445 students worked and rested during the first session, another 445 in the ongoing second, and 150 more await the third." Unfortunately, says Azimbayev, the whole endeavor exists only on paper.

Only a few kilometers the "Istikbol" [name means "the Future"] camp of labor and rest is entering its 6th year and serving, in exemplary fashion, the true needs of camps of this kind: enhancing the exchange of experience, making it possible to meet new friends, and imparting to the students labor and political tempering.

CSO: 1830/582

TATAR OBKOM CHIEF ON LEADERSHIP DUTIES, DISMISSAL OF OFFICIAL

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 June 1984 carries on page 3 a 3,500-word interview with G. I. Usmanov, first secretary of the Tatar Obkom. The interview, entitled "In the Sphere of Influence: Party Life: Style and Methods of Management," was conducted by PRAVDA special correspondents D. Valovoy and N. Morozov. Usmanov discusses the party's influence on the quality of leadership in industry, and complains that this influence is not always positive. He cites the case of a raykom first secretary, R. Feyskhanov. The first secretary was criticized by a well respected kolkhoz chairman, N. Sabirzyanov. Feyskhanov attempted to fire Sabirzyanov. As a result of this incident, Feyskhanov himself was relieved of his duties and sternly reprimanded by the party obkom.

CSO: 1800/357

REGIONAL

UZBEKS URGED TO 'GET HOUSE IN ORDER' FOR 60TH JUBILEE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 200-word UzTAG report titled "Meeting the Glorious Jubilee" which lists some of the discussion topics of the 10 July session of the republic Jubilee Committee. The meeting was conducted by Uzbek CP CC First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev. In preparing for the republic's 60th anniversary, the article says, the most important tasks are directing the activity of the masses toward raising productivity and quality of labor, fulfilling the lofty obligations of each collective, and the quickest possible elimination of the shortcomings pointed out by the 16th plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee.

The Jubilee Commission heard the report of the leaders of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, the Central Asian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the republic, and the republic "Zhaniye" Society on the participation of scientists in the ideological and mass political work devoted to the Jubilee.

Recommendations were made on activating the involvement of the Komsomol organizations in the international education of the republic youth and in the work on strengthening mass cultural and physical education work in the republic in preparation for the 60th anniversary.

POSTHUMOUS AWARD FOR COURAGE TO UZBEK MILITIAMAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 July 1984 carries on page 2 a 100-word ukaz signed by Chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet's Presidium A. Salimov and Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary G. Khaydarova announcing the posthumous awarding of a medal "For Outstanding Service in Preserving Social Order" to Comrade Khabibulla Kamaldinov, line militiaman in the transportation section of the Andizhan Central Asian Administration of Internal Affairs. The ukaz observed that Kamaldinov had shown courage in disarming a criminal. It was signed on 12 July 1984.

CSO: 1830/583

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN TRADITIONS TO BE UNIFIED, UNIVERSAL TO SOVIET LIFE

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMMUNIST GRUZII in Russian No 6, Jun 84 carries on pp 71-73 a 900-word article promoting the unification of regionally-differentiated traditions in Georgia, and underscoring the importance of eliminating the more negative traditions which do not correspond to the socialist way of life. Still first in the rank of traditions to be ameliorated are those involved in the weddings and funerals of the various peoples of Georgia. The author notes the general approval towards a Fall holiday which was reworked (still however based on Georgian traditions) to broaden its scope and include the "guests of Tbilisi." The author believes this successful experience should be applied on a broad scale. Another such success story is the establishment of a "Memorial Day for Near and Dear Ones," in April of this past year. Cemeteries and graves of the deceased were given special care; as the author affirms, "These rituals have, as a rule, a religious character in many countries of the world, however in our country the state itself is concerned with the preservation and strengthening of national traditions."

The author notes that problems remain, among them "irrational use of free time" such as luxuriant weddings and burial services, christenings, and excessive feasts thrown when someone is inducted into the army. The Scientific-Coordination Center on the Problems of Social and Cultural Traditions of the Georgian Academy of Sciences is conducting conferences and producing recommendations on how to establish more holidays such as those mentioned above. The author also suggests that the center should draw the museums more into the work of creating atheistic education for the people.

EXCESSES IN GEORGIAN TRADITIONS CONTINUE

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Jul 84 carries on page 4 a 500-word article concerning another incident of funeral feast excess. Three hundred villagers attended the burial and banquet for a friend and calmly returned home at the conclusion of the services. Production in the area was halted for at least one full day and the author, a lieutenant in the militia, seriously doubted whether any work was accomplished the following day (due to participants over-indulging in the toasts and remembrances). This incident was particularly aggravating as many of the deputies of the town soviet were present at the rites, thus shirking their own responsibilities in disciplining others.

CSO: 1830/587

REGIONAL

TURKMEN MINISTRY CREATES COUNTERPROPAGANDA SECTION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 1 July 1984 carries on page 2 an 150-word article by N. Gurdzhiyants, chairman of the Social Sciences Department of the Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute of Arts and Candidate of Historical Sciences, announcing the first session of the scientific methodological council on ideological training and counterpropaganda of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of Turkmenistan. The council's main task will be to work out concrete practical recommendations on improving the communist education of student-age youth and to strengthen the struggle with the decaying influence of bourgeois ideology.

NEW HEAD OF TURKMEN CENTRAL STATISTICAL ADMINISTRATION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 3 July 1984 carries on page 1 an 100-word ukaz of the Presidium of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet appointing Matkarim Razhapov to the post of Head of the Turkmen Central Statistical Administration. The ukaz is dated 2 July 1984 and signed by the chairman of the Presidium of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet B. Yazkuliayev and by Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary O. Nazarova.

KIRGHIZ COURTS BATTLE OVER CRIMINALITY OF ACTION

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETKSAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 29 Jun 84 carries on p 3 a 700-word article condemning the actions of one Nikolay Gleyzer, a photo-lab assistant in the law faculty of the Kirghiz State University. Gleyzer produced a degree-thesis for another student at the faculty by removing a 3-year-old, successfully-defended paper from the archives, and changing the title and a few other distinguishing features. For this, he received 250 rubles. The Kirghiz courts are engaged in a battle as to whether this act can be considered criminal or merely immoral. Gleyzer was convicted in one court and sentenced to 4 years deprivation of freedom; a second court pronounced his actions to be "criminally unpunishable." The republic Supreme Court has elected to rehabilitate Gleyzer, but the court fights continue. The article, however, concludes with a strong denunciation of Gleyzer's actions and stands in opposition to the rumors that have "flown over the whole region" that an "unfortunate lab-assistant, through naivete and spiritual goodness sold someone else's degree work."

REGIONAL

TURKMEN SEMINAR ON SAFEGUARDING SOCIALIST PROPERTY

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 17 July 1984 carries on page 2 a 100-word Turkmeninform announcement of a study seminar held by the Turkmen procurator's office, devoted to observation of the laws on safeguarding socialist property and strengthening state discipline in the agro-industrial complex. Turkmen procurator A.I. Kharchenko read a report titled "On the Tasks of the Procurator's Office Resulting from the Resolutions of the CC CPSU 'On Strengthening the Safeguarding of Socialist Property in the Agro-Industrial Complex'". First Deputy Chairman of the Turkmen Council of Ministers and member of the Turkmen CP CC Buro G.S. Mishenko also appeared at the seminar.

TURKMENISTAN TIGHTENS CONTROL OVER SOCIALIST PROPERTY

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 18 July 1984 carries on page 1 an unsigned announcement of a republic wide inspection to ascertain the condition of preservation of socialist property in the organizations, ministries and departments that form the republic's agro-industrial complex. The inspection will be conducted from July through December, 1984. The task of the inspection commissions will be to introduce strict order in accounting, preservation, and expenditures of material goods; to ward off deficits, thefts and losses of cattle, poultry, vegetables, and other agricultural production; to guard against wasteful use of technology, fuel, and construction materials.

The first session of the inspection commission took place on July 16. Organizational questions were discussed, the work plan of the commission for the period of the inspection was considered, and the staff for publicizing the inspection in the press, on radio and TV was drawn up. The first session of the commission was conducted by N.V. Makarkin, Chairman of the Turkmen People's Control Committee and member of the Turkmen CP CC Buro.

USMANKHODZHAYEV SPEAKS TO UZBEK INTERNAL AFFAIRS WORKERS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 150-word UzTAG announcement of a republic seminar of workers of the political organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on June 30 in Tashkent.

The seminar was devoted to the further strengthening of the operational functions of the political organs, administrative units, and local divisions of the Internal Affairs Ministry in the light of the demands of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU CC. The seminar session was opened by Uzbek CP Central Committee Second Secretary T.N. Osetrov. It was emphasized in the reports of Uzbek Internal Affairs Minister N.I. Ibragimov and other participants in the seminar that the basic task of the political organs of the republic internal affairs ministry was the overall raising of the level of organization and leadership in party, political, ideological, and educational work, the strengthening of socialist legality, and the issue of personnel discipline as demanded in the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the creation of political organs in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, and in the decisions of the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee.

I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee spoke to the participants in the seminar session.

KHABAROVSK KRAYKOM CHIEF ON TRAINING FUTURE LEADERS

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 June 1984 carries on page 2 a 1,600-word article entitled "A Job and a Calling" by A. Chernyy, first secretary of the Khabarovsk Kraykom. Chernyy discusses shortcomings in the process of training workers for leadership positions.

CSO: 1800/460

REGIONAL

GAPUROV TOURS TASHAUZSKIY RAYON

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 3 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 200-word unsigned article titled "M.G.Gapurov's Visit in Tashauzskiy Rayon." The Turkmen CP Central Committee First Secretary visited the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin to observe the laying of flowers on the memorial to the soldiers of the village Teze-Bazar who perished in the Great Patriotic War. In his comments First Secretary Gapurov noted the ways in which workers of the republic were preparing to meet the impending anniversaries: the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR, the 100th anniversary of the voluntary entry of Turkmenistan into Russia, and the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory.

Comrade Gapurov also visited a new bread bakery and a poultry factory now under construction, at which he gave valuable advice on accelerating the tempo of the construction and improving the quality of work.

GAPUROV CONFERS LABOR AWARDS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 7 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 300-word unsigned article titled "Awards for Hard Work." Turkmen CP Central Committee First Secretary M.G. Gapurov conferred one Order of Lenin, two Orders of the October Revolution, and several Orders of the Red Banner of Labor on workers from kolkhozes of the Tashauzskiy Rayon. During his visit to the Tashauzskaya Oblast Comrade Gapurov, in the company of Obkom First Secretary B. Atayev, also visited a cotton cleaning factory under construction in the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon.

GAPUROV VIEWS MARYYSKAYA OBLAST'S LAGGING COTTON GROWTH

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 500-word unsigned article titled "All Reserves Into Motion" describing the July 13 visit to several kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Maryyskaya Oblast. Reasons were given for the lagging tempo of feed preparation and for the slow performance of watering and weeding operations in the cotton fields of the oblast. The necessity of raising responsibility among all links of the leadership and of strengthening labor discipline was stressed.

On the previous day Comrade Gapurov conferred one Order of Lenin, one Order of the October Revolution and several Orders of the Red Banner of Labor on oblast workers for achieving high indicators in increasing production and sale to the state of grain, cotton, and other products in 1983.

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UZBEK TRADE SCHOOL GRADUATES IN WRONG FIELDS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 June 1984 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by special correspondent N. Ganyukhina titled "Superfluous Man From the Vocational School: A Problem Needing Attention." The article begins with a conversation in the Namangan Kolkhoz Market with a young lady by the name of Maksuda Mutalova who is selling produce. When Ganyukhina asks her how she got time to grow such crops, she confesses she does not work.

This, notes Ganyukhina, is an embarrassing admission since Mutalova had graduated in May of last year from Agricultural Trade School No 242 with the profession of master horticulturist. How is it that the graduate of a vocational school winds up as a superfluous person on her native kolkhoz instead of being in a position to return to the state the money spent on her education?

Ganyukhina asks this question of a number of local officials.

The "Leningrad" Kolkhoz party committee secretary A. Yusupov says that Agricultural Trade School No 242 does not suit his needs. "Ours is a cotton farm with only 14 hectares of produce-growing gardens. We need irrigators and mechanics, not horticulturists. Why can't the school listen to our requests and reorient itself?"

M. Darvishev, the director of Agricultural Trade School No 242, and his deputy M. Mamadvaliyev acknowledge there is a problem. The process of forcing kolkhozes to accept certain categories of trainees undermines the esprit of the teachers who see that their work is for naught and the students who see that their study programs are pointless. Moreover, while the number of students is growing from year to year, the same assignment plan calls for them to be sent to the same three farms in the Namanganskiy Rayon.

At the office of the oblast vocational school administration Ganyukhina learned that the school had been organized in 1980 at the initiative of the Namangan Agricultural Production Administration with the goal of satisfying the oblast's needs for personnel to operate the new virgin land kolkhozes "Sherbulak" and "Samarkand" which would specialize in the production of fruits. But the idea of an interrayon academy to supply them never materialized. The reason, suggests Ganyukhina, may be because someone felt that existing institutes could satisfy the area's needs. "There may have been other reasons. In any case, Agricultural Trade School No 242 has as yet no dormitory, no land for work-study operations, no cabinets or laboratory. The school is simply not equipped

to accept students from other rayons." The school continues to support the "Leningrad" Kolkhoz with graduates, but these "masters" must learn the new trade of cotton grower. "Though, to judge from the documents, the graduates are working in their specialty.

The chief of Personnel of the Namanganskiy Agricultural Production Administration, A. Nurmatoev suggests that the two administrations, that of the vocational school and the agricultural officials, get together and reach an agreement on their respective needs. "It's such a small thing--to meet and decide."

TURKMEN ARTISTS' PLENUM ON IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVENESS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 21 June 1984 carries on page 3 a 150-word Turkmeninform announcement of the Fifth Plenum of the Turkmen Artists' Union which was held on 19 June in Ashkhabad. G. Saurova, Chairperson of the union's Commission on Art Criticism and a member of the USSR Artists' Union read a speech in which she observed that the intensification of the ideological struggle required a broad look at the present condition and the development of Turkmen art criticism and at the growing role of art in the ideological, political, moral and aesthetic education of the Soviet people and in the struggle for peace. Critics must become more active in the artistic process; they must approach the evaluation of artworks from the viewpoint of the best traditions of socialist realism -- in a principled, well-informed, and creative manner.

DEATH OF TURKMEN CP CC CANDIDATE MEMBER REPORTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 26 June 1984 carries on page 1 a 100-word announcement of the death at age 54 of Rozy Kadyrov, candidate member of the Turkmen CP CC and chairman of the Presidium of the Turkmen Board of Trade and Industry.

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